

JOHN TIPTOFT
(1427-1470)

By R. J. MITCHELL

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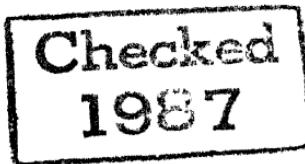
JOHN TIPTOFT'S EFFIGY AT ELY

JOHN TIPTOFT

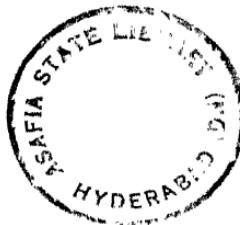
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R. J. MITCHELL



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*Dedicated To
The Memory of*

P. S. A.

P R E F A C E

THIS study of the life and times of a remarkable man was begun some ten years ago under the auspices of the late President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Dr. P. S. Allen, and without his encouragement and help it could never have been undertaken.

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CHAPTER I

FAMILY HISTORY

‘He was of noble Parentage, but nobler for his Achievements, and most of all for his inclinations to good Letters.’

SAVAGE: *Ballioergus*, etc.

I

THE third quarter of the fifteenth century is generally regarded as the darkest period of a gloomy age, a time of moral and intellectual stagnation, when justice was a stranger in the Courts, and when the arts most worth study were deemed to be those of treachery and carnage. It was, nevertheless, the seed-time of the English Renaissance, and without the efforts of the pioneer scholars, book-collectors, and patrons who lived in these dark years, the rich harvest would never have been garnered in Tudor times.

The complexities of the Wars of the Roses tend to overshadow the fact that ordinary men and women were surprisingly literate. Even apprentices could write letters to their masters, while tradesmen found little difficulty in making out their bills and keeping their day-books,¹ and Jane Shore, the mistress of Edward IV, who was merely the wife of a London goldsmith, could, we are told, ‘both read well and write’.² Books were owned and treasured not only by scholars but by a young gallant like John Paston, boys were sent to school and college, girls were taught to read and to write tolerable Latin as well as to sew and to be good housewives, while everyone, men and women, the commons as well as the

nobility, had a very sound working knowledge of legal procedure. The enlightenment of ordinary middle-class folk at this time is thrown into sharp contrast by the selfishness and violence and hide-bound conventionality of most of the great nobles, and by the almost complete breakdown of justice under the strain of a civil war which further weakened a central power already suffering from general debility.

Duke Humphrey of Gloucester had taught his countrymen to look to Italy for their inspiration, and scholars made their way to the Italian universities in steadily increasing numbers; at Bologna only seven Englishmen took degrees during the first half of the century, but in the second half no less than fifty, while at Padua the numbers rose from nine to thirteen and at Ferrara from one to eight. Others, too, studied under the leading humanists and absorbed with ready minds the New Learning. By the year 1460, the situation had changed very much, and Englishmen were no longer looked upon as necessarily utter barbarians. Some years earlier Leonardo Bruni had written to a friend that an Englishman named Thomas was in Florence, and was an ardent student of the humanities—‘as far as one of his race was capable of appreciating scholarship’³—but by the middle of the century that would scarcely have been a fair criticism.

When the first wave of enthusiasm was spent, Englishmen no longer went to Italy to seek learning and to bring home books; instead, they acquired cosmopolitan manners and brought home embroidered gloves and rare perfumes, while Robert Greene in the following century declared that he learned in Italy ‘all the villanies under Heauen’;⁴ these days were, however, far distant. The little band of English scholars, who in the middle years of the fifteenth century had the spirit and the courage to seek out and to assimilate the new ideas, were the real pioneers of the English Renaissance, and

to them and above all to John Tiptoft, the first 'italianate Englishman', Grocin Linacre, and Colet owed the impulse '... to mingle with those more refined nations whom learning and knowledge did first urbanize and polish'.⁵

II

The name 'Tiptot' occurs on the Battle Abbey Roll of Norman Knights⁶ who came to England with the Conqueror, and some members of the same family were still living in Normandy in the fifteenth century, when 'Thomas Tybetot dominus de Tybetot, miles'⁷ is found in the list of Frenchmen who served under John Duke of Bedford during his campaign against the King of France. By the thirteenth century the family was generally known as Tibetot, and in 1216 we find Henry de Tibetot receiving a grant of lands in Lincolnshire; it was this Henry's son, Robert de Tibetot, who first brought the family into prominence. Robert succeeded to his father's lands in 1250, and lived a long and active life up till the year 1298. He accompanied Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I) to Palestine, and so won considerable royal favour; his first appointment was to the Governorship of Porchester Castle, and in 1281 he was made Justice of South Wales and Governor of Cardigan and Carmarthen Castles. In Wales Robert made himself unpopular by forcibly introducing 'English customs', which the Welsh resented, and in 1287 they rebelled under the leadership of Rhys ap Meredur. However, Robert de Tibetot showed great resourcefulness and vigour in putting down the revolt; he captured the rebels' chief castle and took Rhys himself prisoner. Rhys was sent to York, where he was duly hanged, and the revolt was soon ended. In his handling of the situation and in his severity, Robert foreshadowed the behaviour of his descendant in Ireland nearly two centuries later.

Robert sat in the parliaments of 1276 and 1290, and he was appointed one of the counsellors of John of Brittany in 1294. He served in France, on the expedition to recover Gascony, when he was an elderly man, and in the last year of his life he accompanied Edward I on his Scottish expedition. Robert de Tibetot had married Eve, daughter of Pain de Chaworth, and when he died on 22 May 1298, he left one son and three daughters.⁸ The son, Payn, was a promising young man, who held several important posts. He was summoned to Parliament as a Baron on the accession of Edward II, and, if he had not been killed at the Battle of Stirling in 1314, he would probably have advanced the family fortunes further. Payn, Lord Tibetot, bore the arms, *argent, a saltire engrailed gules*; and his shield occurs twice in the border of the famous Gorleston Psalter.⁹ This is a beautiful manuscript of the early fourteenth century, executed in East Anglia; it has a particularly interesting *kalender* with medallions showing the occupation of the months.

A missal was written and illuminated at about the same date, also in East Anglia, for Payn's sister Hawyse and her husband John FitzRoger, or Clavering. This is known as the Tiptoft Missal: it once belonged to William Morris and is now in the Pierpont Morgan collection.¹⁰ It is a very fine example of East Anglian art, and is written on vellum in a good hand, with many borders and miniatures. On fo. 12 the whole border is composed of alternating shields, (i) *argent, a saltire engrailed gules* (sometimes *sable*) for Tiptoft, and (ii) *quarterly or and gules*, with a *bend dexter sable*, for Clavering. The ornament is very gorgeous, practically every page being surrounded by a solid border edged with colour and with medallions and rosettes at the angles, and the ground is often diapered in gold. The decorations show infinite variety; on fo. 142 for instance, at the beginning of the

Canon of the Mass, an extraordinarily rich border has fish, elephants, eagles, dogs, porcupines, monkeys, goldfinches and demons woven into the design; the effect is original and wholly delightful. The Tiptoft Missal must have been written before 1332, for John Clavering died in that year.

Payn de Tibetot was succeeded by his son John, the second Baron Tibetot. He fought in the French and Scottish wars, and Edward III made him Governor of Berwick-on-Tweed; he died in 1367. By his first wife, Margaret Badlesmere, Sir John had two sons, one of whom died young, and he was succeeded by the second, Robert, who only outlived his father by five years. Margaret Badlesmere was co-heir with her brother Giles, and she brought to her husband a great accession of landed property, including Castle Combe in Wiltshire, which passed to their son Robert and through his two daughters Margaret and Millicent to their husbands' families. Margaret and Millicent married brothers, Roger the eldest son of Lord Scrope, from whom were descended the Scropes of Bolton, and Stephen, Lord Scrope's second son, from whom descended the Scropes of Castle Combe.¹¹ A third daughter, Elizabeth, married Philip de Despencer.

As Sir Robert had no son, the barony passed to his half-brother, Sir Payn de Tibetot, whose mother was Sir John de Tibetot's second wife, Elizabeth Wauton. This Sir Payn succeeded in acquiring most of his half-brother's lands; he was of a rather truculent nature and in his day a noted warrior. By marrying Agnes, daughter of Sir John Wrothe of Enfield, Middlesex, Sir Payn acquired lands in East Anglia, and, when his niece by marriage died without heirs in 1413, all the Wrothe estates in Cambridgeshire passed to the Tiptoft family. By this time the Tibetots, or, as they now began to spell their name, the Tiptofts, were rapidly becoming one of the important families; most of them showed unusual

administrative ability and enterprise, and by judicious marriages they were acquiring useful relations and many acres of land in different parts of the country.

Among other lands included in the Wrothe inheritance were the manors of Nether Wallop and Brockenhurst in Hampshire,¹² and in Middlesex the manor of Enfield, which was afterwards known as 'Worcesters' because the house was supposed to have been rebuilt by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester.¹³ If Worcester did rebuild Enfield Manor, his work has all been merged in later additions, and there is now nothing to connect him with the house except a vague tradition, for it was added to and in great measure rebuilt by Sir Thomas Lovell at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Later, the house belonged to Henry VIII and was for a time the home of Prince Edward and his sisters ; Queen Elizabeth presented it to Sir Robert Cecil.

Another manor connected with the Tiptoft family is the farm-house close to Wimbish in North-west Essex, which is still known as 'Tiptofts'. The original house must have been built in the first half of the fourteenth century, probably c. 1330. It has timber-framed walls, and the original aisled hall still remains, although it has been divided by later partitions and the insertion of floors and ceilings. Originally it was some thirty-eight feet long, with aisles on each side, four and a half feet wide, and the roof trusses were supported by two pairs of oak columns ; one pair of these columns still remains. Various original details can still be seen, a blocked up doorway in the buttery wing, some of the original timber framing on the west side, and at the north end of the hall a semi-hexagonal projecting oriel which is carried up above the eaves.¹⁴ Enough remains to make 'Tiptofts' an attractive and rare example of fourteenth-century architecture ; the house is surrounded by a narrow rectangular moat.

A mile away, in the parish church of All Saints at Wimbish, there is some fourteenth-century glass in the heads of the lights of the east window of the north chapel, and four shields can be picked out among the flowers and foliage and yellow leopards. These bear the arms of Fitzwalter, Badlesmere, Tiptoft and Aspall,¹⁵ and confirm the claim that the manor belonged to that branch of the Tiptoft family with which we are concerned.

III

The son of Sir Payn and Agnes Wrothe was Sir John Tiptoft, born about the year 1375. In 1397 we find him in the service of Henry Earl of Derby earning $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. a day in wages, and he remained all his life one of Derby's strongest partisans, probably sharing with him his exile in France and returning with him when he came to claim his earldom in 1399. When Derby overthrew Richard II and became King as Henry IV, he rewarded his followers with grants of lands and offices and money, and John Tiptoft obtained his full share, which he increased, as did many other noblemen, and the King himself, by engaging in trade. He soon became a rich man, and when in November 1404 a vessel belonging to him¹⁶ was captured by Castilian pirates, the cargo was sold at Bilbao for the large sum of £2500.

Sir John Tiptoft sat for Huntingdonshire in the Parliament of 1403-4, and in the Parliament which met at Westminster 1 March 1405 (1406), he was elected Speaker in spite of his conventional protest of 'youth' and 'lack of sense'. Sir John was not so very young, he was over thirty, and most certainly he did not lack sense, indeed, he proved an admirable Speaker in the two sessions of this famous Parliament. The Parliament of 1406 was marked by several important advances in

the power of the Commons, and, says Stubbs,¹⁷ 'seems almost to stand for an exponent of the most advanced principles of medieval constitutional life in England'. Severe legislation against the Lollards marked this parliament, and Sir John himself presented a petition against them—often attributed to his son¹⁸—and much of the responsibility for their persecution has been laid to his charge.

Continuing to enjoy royal favour, Sir John Tiptoft was on 8 December 1406 made keeper of the wardrobe, treasurer of the royal household, and chief butler, and when the lands of Owen Glendower were forfeited Tiptoft was given considerable estates in South Wales and the Welsh marches. More offices were granted him the next year; he was made steward of the Landes and Constable of Dax in Aquitaine, and on 17 July 1408 he became Treasurer of England, an office he seems to have filled with some distinction, as did his son a generation later. At the beginning of the next year, 1409, Sir John Tiptoft was one of the witnesses to the will signed by Henry IV.

In December following, he resigned the Treasurership, and henceforward most of his commissions were for service abroad, and he was sent on many embassies. The first of these was in August 1409, when Sir John was selected to meet the envoys of the Hansa towns and to persuade them to postpone their demand for immediate repayment of the loan they had made the King; a delicate mission which he triumphantly fulfilled. Later, he took an important part in negotiating alliances between England and various foreign princes before Henry V's invasion of France, he was a commissioner to treat for an alliance with the King of Aragon, the German princes, the Hanseatic League, and the Genoese, and in 1417 he was sent on a secret mission to the Emperor in connection with the Duke of Burgundy's supposed offer to recognize Henry V as King of France. He had been Seneschal of

Aquitaine since 1415, and after the conquest of Normandy Sir John Tiptoft took a leading part in organizing the government of this province.

In these various missions Sir John gained wide experience and won much renown, so that he was naturally chosen as an assistant counsellor to the Regency on the death of Henry V, 22 August 1422. On the 1 November he was made a Privy Councillor, and took a leading part in the deliberations of the Privy Council, attending its meetings regularly and frequently stating his opinions.¹⁹ He became chief steward of the castles and lordships in Wales, continuing the traditional Welsh connection of his family. Twice he went to France in command of troops, first in 1429 when he commanded a contingent of the army accompanying Henry VI, and again seven years later when he took reinforcements to the English army there.

By this time Sir John Tiptoft was growing an old man, and he soon retired from public life; it was perhaps then that he employed his leisure in writing out his commonplace book of English history, known as *Tiptoft's Chronicle*.²⁰

This manuscript is a compilation from various sources, a common practice of the times, made presumably for the author's own use. It is, however, evidence of the literary habit of mind and interest in past and contemporary history that Sir John transmitted to his son. The MS. is a large octavo volume of 174 leaves, written on vellum in an early fifteenth-century hand, probably Sir John's own autograph. It is in fair condition, and complete, although some folios are torn and many stained.

Much the most interesting part of the whole chronicle is contained in the last ten pages, which deal first with the troubles of Henry IV in Wales, and then, in a most lucid manner, with the triangular affairs of England, France, and

Burgundy. Here Tiptoft is writing at first hand, and he shows an intimate acquaintance with the intricacies of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, and the part played in the negotiations by Sigismund, King of the Romans, at whose court he had spent a whole year.²¹ He gives, too, details of the coronation in France of the young Henry VI in 1429, a ceremony at which he himself was present, and he certainly had exceptional opportunities for studying the relations of France and Burgundy with England. Some of these events appear to be copied from the Latin *Brut*, which must have been made after 1437, and this fact admits the possibility that the *Chronicle* was written by Sir John Tiptoft's son. Indeed, it has been attributed to him by a late fifteenth-century owner of the MS. who signs his name as 'Sheldwych'—probably from the name of his birthplace. Sheldwych has written the title at the beginning, *Cronica Regum Angliae de diversis historiographis per dominum Johannem Wigornii comitem sparsim collecta*. On the face of it, however, Worcester's authorship is unlikely. The *Chronicle* is completely different from his other works and bears no relation to them, and if he had written it he would have been very unlikely to have ended it at a date when he himself was barely five years old. His own career brought him into close touch with exciting events, and busy as he must have been, he would surely have found time to note them down. As far as can be seen from the two examples of his handwriting (see Plate VII), it in no way resembles the hand of the *Chronicle*. On the whole, the internal evidence is in favour of Sir John Tiptoft's authorship.

IV

When Sir John Tiptoft married for the second time, about the year 1422, he chose an heiress with royal blood in her

veins, and she made him an excellent wife, brought him wide estates and much political influence, and bore him one son and four daughters. His first wife, Philippa Talbot, had died childless soon after marriage. The new Lady Tiptoft was the younger daughter of Edward Charleton, Lord Powys, and she and her sister Joanna were co-heiresses in tail of Edmund Mortimer Earl of March (see genealogical table). Joanna Charleton was married to Sir John Grey of Tankerville, and their son Henry divided with Joyce Tiptoft's son John, the Powys inheritance.²² It was through his wife that Sir John Tiptoft acquired the title of Baron of Powys; he had been summoned to Parliament in his early years as Baron Tiptoft, but in 1440 he is styled 'Dominus de Tiptoft et de Powes baro'.

It seems that John Tiptoft, afterwards Earl of Worcester, was either the third or the fourth child of this marriage. If Lodovico Carbone's information was correct, and he really became Lord Treasurer 'at the unprecedently early age' of twenty-five,²³ he must have been born in 1427, though the precise date is unknown. Fuller ranks him among the worthies of Cambridgeshire,²⁴ and, following Leland, gives 'Everton' as his birthplace. There is no such place as 'Everton' in Cambridgeshire, so Great Eversden is probably intended; in the *Inquisitiones post mortem*²⁵ of both Sir John Tiptoft and his son, Eversdon Magna is mentioned as part of the inheritance.

Of the four daughters, one was a nun and her name is not recorded,²⁶ and the other three were Philippa, Joanna, and Joyce.²⁷ Philippa was aged '62 and more' and Joanna '60 and more' in 1485,²⁸ so they must have been born in 1423 and 1425 respectively. Philippa married Thomas Baron Roos of Hamlake, and Joanna was married to Sir Edmund Ingoldes-thorpe of Borough Green in Cambridgeshire; she died 21 June 1494. Joyce married Edmund Sutton, or Dudley, son

and heir of John, Baron Dudley, and her grand-daughter Margaret Dudley reunited the two branches of the Charleton family by marrying Edward Grey Lord Powys.

Joyce, Lady Tiptoft was, Leland tells us,²⁹ 'focmina incomparabilis' and she brought up her son most carefully, instructing him in the moral virtues and 'bonis literis'; from this we may infer that he was not sent away from home, as were most boys of gentle birth, to be brought up in the household of some great lord. From both sides of the family the young John inherited intelligence and ability, from his mother charm, beauty, and pride of birth, and from his father tact in handling difficult situations, administrative skill, and the artistic and literary qualities associated with the Tiptofts.

CHAPTER II

OXFORD AND AFTER

... quem virum magnae litteraturae novi in Universitate Oxoniensi tempore meo consolarem.'

JOHN ROUS: *Historia Regum Angliae*.

I

FOR some four centuries Balliol College has claimed Tiptoft as a distinguished member, counting him among the little band of Oxford scholars from Balliol who, 'like merchants seeking goodly wares',¹ went to study the humanities in Italy. It is quite clear that Tiptoft did study at Oxford, from his later relations with the University and from the testimony of John Rous of Warwick, the antiquary who wrote an account of the Earls of Warwick and perhaps made the delightful drawings to illustrate the *Pageants of Richard Beauchamp*. Rous writes of Tiptoft with admiration and affection, and says that they were contemporaries at Oxford.² The Balliol legend seems to have originated in the copious note-books of John Leland, although he only suggests that Tiptoft may have been at Balliol, adding that he himself believes it to be true, and it has held its ground for so long because no evidence against it was forthcoming.

Until the last few years no trace of Tiptoft had been found at any other College, and *Registrum AA*, in which one might hope to find particulars, does not begin until 1450. Recently, however, Dr. H. E. Salter, in examining the accounts of University College, or the Great Hall of University as it was styled in the fifteenth century, has discovered that a certain

'Dominus Joh. Typtot' lodged there in 1440 and for the two years following.³ For the first year he paid rent amounting to 33s. 4d., more than half as much again as the rent paid by any other lodger, and more than double that paid by most. This suggests that he had two or three rooms, probably two large ones at 13s. 4d. each and a smaller one at 6s. 8d. The second year the bill was the same, but the entry refers to 'Typtot and Hurle', implying that two friends were living together or, more probably, that a Master of Arts was acting as tutor or guardian to a boy. The third year 'Typtot and Hurle' were still together, and their bill amounted to 25s. for three terms.

At this time the College consisted of only four members, but there were always a certain number of lodgers, sometimes as many as twelve or thirteen. In almost every case the lodger was a doctor or magister, possibly an abbot or an archdeacon. The ordinary undergraduate would not have been accepted, but an exception was occasionally made for a nobleman's son who, although he had no degree, would be put on a level with the masters on account of his noble birth. 'Dominus Typtot' was apparently accepted on these terms. There seems to be good reason to identify him with John Tiptoft, son of Sir John and Joyce Tiptoft. He would only be about thirteen years old in 1440, but there would be nothing unusual about that, and the presence of 'Hurle' suggests some kind of mentor. Cardinal Wolsey was younger still, for he was an undergraduate at eleven or twelve, and took his B.A. at the age of fifteen. 'Typtoft' left Oxford in 1443, the very year in which Sir John Tiptoft died, and his son inherited the large and scattered property; what could be more natural than to leave the University and to go home to take up the new responsibilities?

The identity of 'Hurle' is more open to question. There

was in 1414 a Hugh Herle at Merton, who might have taken some living and returned to Oxford in 1440 in charge of the young Tiptoft, but the idea is rather fanciful. A more probable identification is with John Hurlegh or Hurleigh, one of Tiptoft's chaplains.⁴ He afterwards became Rector of Hanslap in Buckinghamshire, and at his death in 1469 he also held the livings of Shytlington in Bedfordshire and Cherry Overton (Hunts). An indult, dated 8 June 1459, was granted to John Hurlegh to take the fruits of his benefices 'while absent studying letters at a University or engaged in the service of the King or Earl', so he may have accompanied Tiptoft to Palestine and said Mass for him on Mount Calvary, or he may have joined him in Padua on his return from the Holy Land. Hurlegh's will (P.C.C. 29 Godyn) is dated 20 July 1469; in it, among bequests to his relations and to poor scholars at Oxford and Cambridge, he leaves to Tiptoft a covered cup of silver-gilt, weighing eighteen ounces.

The year before Tiptoft and Hurlegh went to Oxford, one William Orell was Proctor; it is probable that he should be identified with the William Orell, Rector of Elington in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, another of Tiptoft's chaplains who was at Tiptoft's request, on 13 March 1461, granted an indult to farm his benefice 'while studying in an university or at the Roman court';⁵ possibly he too accompanied Tiptoft on his pilgrimage.

When Tiptoft went to Oxford in 1440 the University had about a thousand members, of whom some seven hundred were undergraduates, distributed among the various halls which were then between sixty-five and seventy in number.⁶ Many of these were built on the south side of the High Street, among shops and private houses, on the opposite side from the newly founded college of All Souls, where the south quadrangle was rising stone by stone. No scholar could study

in the faculties of law or medicine until he had taken his B.A., so that all undergraduates were obliged to be artists ; they had to register their names on the roll of a regent master within a month of their first arrival, and take an oath to observe the statutes. All were obliged to reside in a college or hall ; a royal ordinance of 1420 forbade them to take lodgings with townsmen, unless the Chancellor granted them special permission.⁷ The Principal of each hall, who had to be a graduate, was in charge of all the scholars resident there, doling them out money as they needed it, and beating them on Saturdays if punishment was deserved.⁸

The chief causes of riot and disorder were, then as now, celebration of national festivals and the frequenting of taverns. Sometimes the order against carrying arms was disobeyed, and then there might be broken heads and bruised limbs if some quarrel should break out between nations or if the wild games played in Beaumont fields became too fierce. In 1440 a stabbing affray arose out of a simple game of pike-staff,⁹ and bloodshed commonly accompanied any heated argument. Offenders might be excommunicated, imprisoned, fined or expelled, at the discretion of the Chancellor ; in the fifteenth century it was found that a money fine was the most effective form of punishment.

The day started early ; lectures generally began at 6 or 7 a.m. and went on until eleven or twelve without a break ; then came dinner at noon, and afterwards more study and disputations, sometimes lasting until six or seven in the evening. Grammar lectures were delivered on Fridays. On feast days there was no work after dinner. At the end of the day the scholars retired to their rooms for supper and amusement ; in these days beer was only a penny a gallon and a penny piece of beef would feed four hungry scholars,¹⁰ so that even the poorest seldom had cause to go hungry to bed.

In these years the University was receiving the earlier instalments of Duke Humphrey's munificent gifts of books. In all he must have given upwards of three hundred volumes, many of them very beautiful copies. His own catholic tastes are reflected in his choice of books; although it cannot be claimed that he himself had read all the books he presented to Oxford, it would be unjust to assert that his patronage of literature was merely a pose. The most important among the books given by him were classical texts, some of them newly rediscovered by the Italian humanists; the *Politics* of Aristotle (in a Latin translation), the *Lives* of Plutarch (also in Latin), and Decembrio's translation of Plato's *Republic*.¹¹ He had besides humanistic translations from the classics, French translations of Livy, Vegetius and Boccaccio, and seven books of Petrarch and at least two of the attractive and often under-rated humanist, Coluccio Salutati.

Hitherto there had been scarcely any books in the University, and those that were there were kept under lock and key and jealously guarded from the scholars. As early as 1435 Duke Humphrey had given money and books, and in 1438 he gave no less than 129 volumes, a donation followed in 1441 by further gifts of sixteen more. The largest donation of all was in 1444, a year after Tiptoft had left the University. The books were collected and housed in the room over the porch of St. Mary's Church, and were looked after by a special librarian. Only graduates were supposed to be admitted, but exceptions were sometimes made, 'as in the case of sons of members of Parliament',¹² and it is quite possible that Tiptoft could have gained such permission had he desired it. The library was open from 9-11 a.m. and 1-4 p.m., except on Sundays and holidays.¹³

This library did much to restore Oxford's lost prestige, and students were again attracted thither from other countries. The

authorities wrote to Duke Humphrey immensely appreciative letters, and in one of them said 'we wish you could see the students bending over your books in their greediness and thirst for knowledge';¹⁴ a general impetus was given to study, and a new enthusiasm for the classics began to be felt, which perhaps stimulated Tiptoft as well as many of his contemporaries to make collections of books as opportunity came.

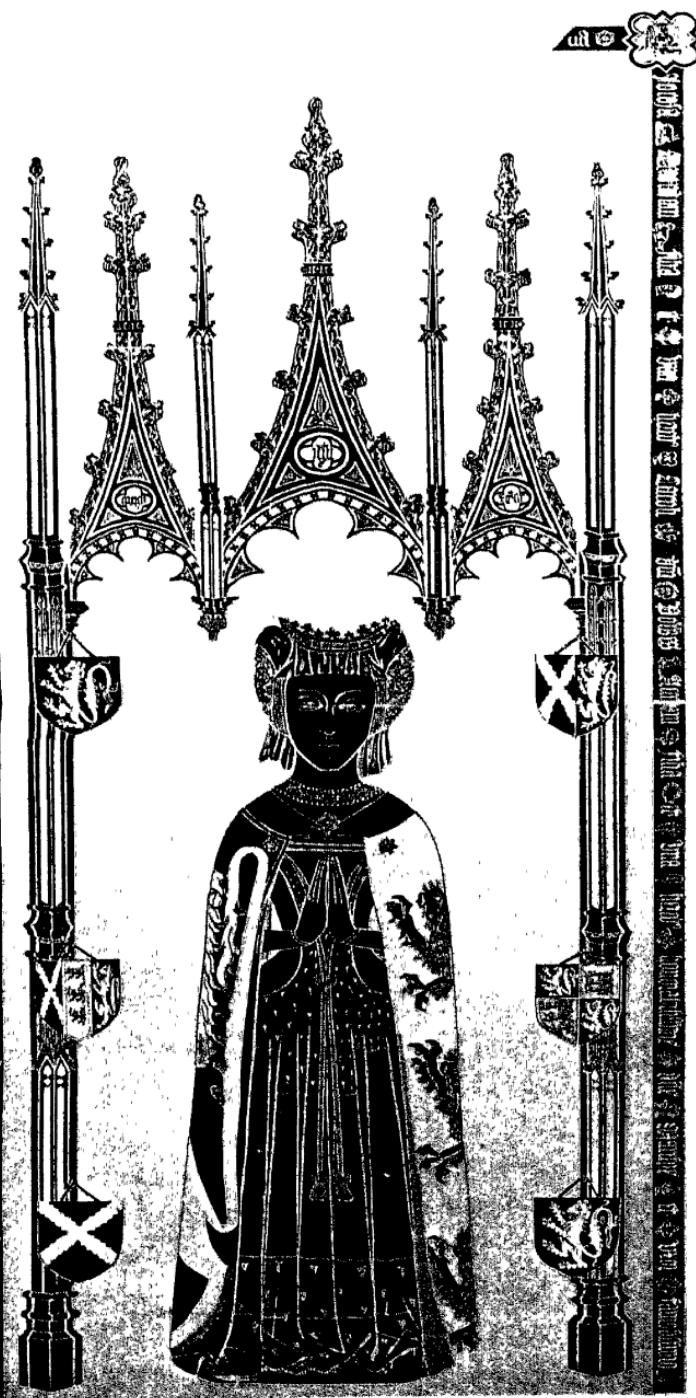
While Tiptoft was in his second year at Oxford the University was agitated by the grant of the degree of D.D. by royal decree to the notorious papal collector Vincent Clement.¹⁵ It was an interference with custom which was bitterly resented by the older members of the University; Gascoigne speaks of Clement as 'doctor insolens', making a grimly academic pun, and complains that he was given the degree while still in deacon's orders.¹⁶ This Vincent Clement afterwards had some connection with Tiptoft (see Chapter XII); it is possible that they met on this occasion for the first time, for Clement must have come to Oxford to receive the degree, so grudgingly given that even he must have felt a trifle abashed.

II

Tiptoft's father died, as we have seen, in 1443. For four years practically nothing is heard of young John Tiptoft, from the time he left Oxford until 20 July 1447 when he was granted a licence to enter into all his father's and mother's lands in England and Wales.¹⁷ Joyce Tiptoft had died in September 1446, and she was buried at Enfield, where there is a fine altar tomb to her memory bearing the arms of Charlton and Powys, and a very beautiful brass with a triple canopy, no doubt erected by her son.

Some time earlier than 1447 Tiptoft seems to have borrowed £333, 6s. 8d. from that great money-lender Cardinal Beaufort,

1003 श्री राम चरितम् अस्ति राम राम राम राम राम राम राम राम



for in the second codicil to his will, dated 9 April 1447, the Cardinal forgives him the debt.¹⁸ It may have been incurred by his father; at any rate there is no explanation why the loan was needed or under what circumstances it was made. Cardinal Beaufort was an exceedingly rich man and, in his own way, generous, although Poggio found him disappointing as a patron. But then, the Florentine Poggio 'found much to censure' in England, and complained that when he was dining in the house of a bishop or nobleman, the English conversation was so dull that after four hours at table he had to rise and bathe his eyes with cold water lest he should fall asleep.¹⁹

In 1449 a marriage was arranged for Tiptoft with Cecily, widow of Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick. The Duke, a very pious young man who knew the whole Psalter by heart and was wont to repeat it from cover to cover every day ('without he had the gretter besiness'),²⁰ had died in 1446 at the early age of twenty-one. Tiptoft was already connected, through his mother, with the house of York, and by his marriage he allied himself with the powerful Nevilles, for Cecily, Duchess of Warwick, was the daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and sister to the 'Kingmaker', Richard Earl of Warwick. For some time the families had been on friendly terms, and Sir John Tiptoft had acted as one of the executors of Richard Beauchamp,²¹ father-in-law of the Earl of Warwick. Friendship with Warwick meant influence and favour, and very soon after his marriage, on 1 July 1449, Tiptoft was created Earl of Worcester.

This was to be a turning-point in his career, for henceforward he would be marked for high office and would be expected to take his place as one of the chief men of the kingdom. Cecily Tiptoft died after only one year of marriage;²² but Tiptoft's friendship with Warwick and his brothers continued for many years. Together they served on commissions, together they

signed safe-conducts and pardons, and together they held lands in the Dowgate Ward of the City of London; on 24 June 1454 we find Tiptoft and Warwick joining with Somerset and seven other persons in the release of those lands to one John Thornbury.²³

Tiptoft's first marriage had been one of convenience, arranged for him; he remained a widower for a few months only, and then married to please himself a lady of gentle birth but of no great consequence. She was Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Greydour, and widow of an obscure Hampshire squire named Baynham. The Greydour lands were in Gloucestershire near the Welsh border, where they marched with Tiptoft's Powys inheritance; Elizabeth was an only child and inherited all her father's estates, so that Tiptoft was able to extend his already considerable influence in that part of the country.

In 1451, however, when she had been married less than a year, Elizabeth died in giving birth to a son, who died a few days later, so that Tiptoft was a widower for the second time in eighteen months. After this second misfortune he did not marry again for seventeen years, in spite of the fact that he had no heir. Elizabeth's widowed mother, Joanna Greydour, had founded a chantry in 1445 for the souls of her husband and his kindred; a short time after Elizabeth's death she altered the rules to include 'Elizabeth, late Countess of Worcester' and in 1465 she specified that prayers were to be offered 'for the good state of John, erle of Worcester' as well as for the soul of his second wife;²⁴ this implies that Tiptoft kept up his connection with the Greydour family. A passage in a letter that Tiptoft wrote soon after Elizabeth's death suggests that he felt his bereavement keenly; he wrote to Henry Cranebroke, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, and asked for his prayers 'with special remembrance of her soule whom I loved best'.²⁵

III

Three letters, two from Tiptoft to Henry Cranebroke, and one addressed to him, exist in one of the MSS. in the royal collection at the British Museum ; these are clearly only part of the whole correspondence, for Tiptoft in the first of them refers to Cranebroke's previous letters—'stilo tulliano comptis'. He deplores his own undistinguished style, which is indeed lacking in grace, and thanks Cranebroke for his wise counsel, 'honorificam admonitionem' and 'paternam doctrinam' commanding him to St. Thomas. This letter was written 9 January 1451, the second, which is in English, in April of the following year ; as it has never been printed in its entirety it is perhaps worth reproducing here. It begins abruptly :

The explit of your desire taccomplishe, right dere and enteerly beloued brother and frend, I haue put me in deuoir as your aduocate to cause you attain too. trustyng to god you to haue a sight of the Juel wlich your corage hath whette so you to see, suffisaunt suerte by a short day limittted of restitucion, by you founden, exortyng you therefore to be of the liche corage and entent to the report of the manifolde, goodly, holesum and notable virtues, with your fix purpose to the executorie sequile of the same, as ye were and haue been to the sight of hit promissed. With special remembraunce of her soule whom I loued best, and god pardon, and charitable memoyr of me most wrecched and sinful creature, offending gretly, the rather and soner recouer of mercy and grace by mean of your praier offerid vp for her and me to our Lord Jesu. Who of his high bounte dresse so the paces of your pilgremage in this miserable and complainab[le] lif, that ye may enioye the habitacioun, your laborious viage here finisshed, of perpetuel quiete and reste. Amen.

1452 4° Aprilis.

In this letter Tiptoft shows his simple kindness; although he was a very busy man—he had just been made Treasurer—he could still find time and take the trouble to gratify his friend's whim, and arrange for him to have the jewel in his possession for a day. It is difficult to know what 'jewel' this can have been, or why Cranebroke was so anxious to see it. There were famous jewels at Canterbury, at the shrine of St. Thomas, and in particular one carbuncle or ruby, seen by the Venetian Ambassador in the year 1500, which shone so brilliantly that although 'the church is rather dark . . . and when we went to see the sun was nearly gone down, and the weather was cloudy, yet I saw that ruby as well as if I had it in my hand'.²⁶ It is just possible that this may have been the 'Juel' to which Tiptoft refers, but there is nothing at all to support such a theory.

The last of the three letters is in Latin, written in December 1452 by Cranebroke to the 'singularissimo' and 'mctuendissimo' Earl of Worcester, in terms of affectionate humility. Cranebroke describes himself as 'least of God's flock', apologizes for his foolish words and bids Tiptoft remember St. Paul's exhortation to suffer fools gladly. The correspondence is found on a single page of a fifteenth-century manuscript, containing miscellaneous letters and extracts apparently intended as models of style, which came into Henry Cranebroke's possession, and he has copied in various items, including several of Guarino's translations from Plutarch and Leonardo Bruni.²⁷ It is not impossible that Tiptoft sent these works home to Cranebroke from Italy, for the copies seem to have been made c. 1459. Little further is known of Cranebroke. He had been a Fellow of Canterbury College in 1443, when Tiptoft was in residence at Oxford, and possibly their friendship began at this time. Cranebroke was received into religion on St. Martin's Day 1435, being ordained priest 11 April 1444. No doubt he

took his surname from his birthplace, Cranbrook in Kent, as did William Tilly of Selling, and many others. He died at Christ Church, 8 December 1466—‘monachatus sui anno xxxii’—and was buried by Prior Goldstone.²⁸

Tiptoft was often at Christ Church, and the chronicler John Stone notes his visits on several occasions in his record, which was made at the Prior’s orders in 1469. According to the *Chronicle*, Tiptoft was present at the enthronement of John Kempe as Archbishop of Canterbury, 11 December 1452, and also at the enthronement of his successor, Thomas Bourchier, on 26 January 1454 (1455).²⁹ Bourchier, soon after his appointment, bought Knowle near Sevenoaks, from Lord Say and Sele. He rebuilt and enlarged the house, and made it a meeting-ground for his literary friends; Hook³⁰ assumed that Tiptoft stayed with him there—which is likely enough, but there is no evidence to prove it—and Schirmer³¹ went further still in suggesting that Tiptoft’s friendship with the Canterbury monks might have its beginning in his visits to Knowle. As Tiptoft was a welcome visitor at Christ Church long before 1455, when Bourchier bought Knowle, this suggestion has little value.

IV

Even if Lodovico Carbone exaggerated when he declared the office of Lord Treasurer to be the most important in England and that its holder was second only to the King,³² it certainly ranked very high, and Tiptoft’s ability must have been outstanding to secure it for him so early in his career. He was appointed 15 April 1452, and continued in office until 7 October 1454,³³ and in spite of his inexperience he seems to have filled the position well. The Lord Treasurer had a great variety of duties and was in close touch with

the King; Tiptoft was also made a Privy Councillor, 6 December 1453, and so became one of the half-dozen most important of King Henry's advisers.

One of the perquisites of the Treasurer was a handsome present from the Venetian Senate. Every year the galleys brought their goods to London, and they never failed to include eight butts of malmsey sealed on the bungs and plugs with the Lion of St. Mark. Four of these were intended for the King, two for the Chancellor, and two for the Treasurer.³⁴ The King had other gifts as well; in 1458 the captain of the London galleys delivered to the Venetian consul, who was to pass them on to the King, two painted chests containing forty 'earthen pots of syruped confectiones, green ginger, melon and quince', and twenty 'gilt glass guard-shaped flasks of rosolio'; this last was not a perfume, but distilled spirits: the earthen pots were probably majolica.

In 1452 Tiptoft was appointed Commissioner of Oyer and Terminer in thirteen counties; the following year he served on a Commission of Inquiry in Salop and the Welsh Marches, and on 12 August 1453 he was appointed to compel payment from the King's debtors in North Wales.³⁵ All these commissions gave him valuable experience, and in April 1454 he was invited to undertake a still more difficult and exacting task. Tiptoft was appointed with the Earls of Salisbury, Shrewsbury and Wiltshire, and John Lord Stourton to be 'Keeper of the Sea', for three years, requisitioning ships as they were needed for defence against pirates and the King's 'seid Enemyes, and repressyng of their outrageous malices'.³⁶

This problem, the 'Keeping of the Sea', was one of the most difficult of all the problems that perplexed and often baffled medieval governments. The ship on Henry VI's noble was supposed to be a symbol of English naval supremacy, and

Henry and his advisers were only too ready to obey the author of the *Libelle of Englysh Polycye*:

*Cheryshe marchandyse, keep thamyralte, [the admiralty]
That we bee maysters of the narrow sea,*

but this advice was very difficult to translate into practice. Communications were slow, and the political disturbances and preoccupation on both sides of the Channel made piracy easy and profitable.

In theory the 'King's enemies' were generally Bretons or Spaniards, but very often the pirates were men from Devon and Cornwall, sometimes tacitly supported by the local squires. In July 1434 a commission was sent to the major and water bailiff of Fowey to inquire who were the malefactors of the town who 'lately being at sea in a carrack . . . took Master James R. . . and robbed him of 600 crowns of gold and a pipe full of books valued at 1000 crowns'.³⁷ Besides the incidental light which this episode throws upon the book trade, it implies that the west country pirates were not far behind the Bretons, who respected neither persons nor property, and while they carried on an unofficial warfare with each other, both were eager to prey upon the unhappy merchant.

On one occasion the King himself suffered at the hands of pirates, when one of his letters to Pope Eugenius IV was stolen.³⁸ A safe-conduct was small protection against the lawlessness of the pirate captain, who would think little of tossing such damaging evidence overboard. Most famous of his age was the rover Hannekin Lion (*floret 1436*), a native of Dunkirk, who had a fleet of pirate vessels, eight or ten in number, under his command, and who sailed the Channel and was the terror of peaceful merchantmen. Like Chaucer's shipman, 'of nyce conscience took he no keep', he styled himself 'the friend of God and foe of all mankind'.³⁹

Early in the century, in 1406, the plan had been tried of entrusting the safeguard of the sea to the merchants themselves for a year and five months, and they had been allowed for their expenses tonnage and poundage and a quarter of the subsidy on wool. Up to a point this scheme was successful, but it was allowed to lapse, and no serious effort had been made to sweep the Channel clear of freebooters until the Ordinance of 1453, when Tiptoft and his associates were given a free hand and allowed tonnage and poundage for their expenses. Hannekin Lion was dead, for he and all his men were lost at sea in a storm, but matters were still very serious and the office of Keeper of the Sea called for great activity and firmness. This, at least, Tiptoft could supply, and during his tenure of office there was a very marked improvement and timorous merchants began to venture out from port.

V

In the meantime the political situation in England had grown difficult and complex. While Henry VI remained childless, Richard Duke of York was his heir, but on 13 October 1453 a son was born to Margaret of Anjou and Henry, and this changed the whole position. Malicious rumours flew about, and the Milanese ambassador reported that Henry himself was supposed to have said that the Prince must be the son of the Holy Spirit,⁴⁰ but the young Prince Edward was the acknowledged heir and York's hopes were dashed. From this date the country began to be divided into rival factions, and it was only a matter of time before civil war would break out.

Tiptoft was placed in a very awkward predicament. He was not a man to balance himself between the two parties without committing himself to either, as Bourchier did with such

conspicuous success. His family were traditional supporters of Lancaster; indeed, Tiptoft's father had helped Henry IV secure the throne, and he himself owed his earldom and many royal favours to Henry VI, so that he seemed to be pledged to the Lancastrian party. On the other hand, he was connected by birth with York, and by marriage and ties of friendship and inclination with the Nevilles, York's strongest supporters.

It was an embarrassing position when civil war was imminent, and lends colour to the suggestion that Tiptoft chose this time to make his pilgrimage and visit Italy, in order to avoid an open declaration of allegiance. It is difficult to see what other course he could have taken; conflicting loyalties would have forced him into a false position whichever side he had supported, and his appointment as ambassador to the Pope must, at this critical time, have been extremely welcome. On 5 August 1457 Tiptoft was appointed, with Robert Flemmyng and Philip Wentworth, to carry the King's obedience and greeting to Pope Calixtus III.⁴¹ Flemmyng had been in Italy for some years and was probably there when the commission was issued; there is no record that Sir Philip Wentworth ever set out. Tiptoft started early in 1458 and arrived in Venice at the beginning of May.

It is easy, but quite unjust, to ascribe his departure to cowardice; his contemporaries certainly did not think the worse of him, and John Free congratulates him on preferring peace to war,⁴² while all are agreed that he had very great personal courage. Fuller, with his usual felicity of phrase, says: ' . . . this Earl could not be discourteous to Henry VI who had so much advanced him, nor disloyall to Edward IV in whom the right of the Crown lay. Consulting his own safety, he resolved on this expedient, for a time to quit his own and visit the Holy Land.'⁴³

CHAPTER III

PILGRIMAGE TO PALESTINE

‘... gooyng on pylgremage unto Jherusalem visytyng there the holy places that oure blesyd lord Jhesu Criste halowed with his blesyd presence’. WILLIAM CAXTON: Epilogue to the *Declamacion*.

I

EXPEDIENCY may have dictated the time of Tiptoft’s visit to Palestine, but the idea of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem had been in his mind since his Oxford days. John Rous tells us¹ that he begged Tiptoft to take with him an artist to draw pictures of the birds and beasts and other strange sights he would see in the Holy Land, just as the German Bernardus von Breydenbach did a few years later.

In England there was in the fifteenth century a strong preference for making pilgrimage to the more accessible shrine of St. James at Compostella, and so the number of Palestine pilgrims dwindled, while nearly six thousand persons obtained the King’s licence to visit Compostella in the two years 1434 and 1435.² Jerusalem was, however, the natural centre of the Christian faith, with its many holy places hallowed by tradition, and had been visited by the devout from the earliest days of Christianity. St. Jerome in the fourth century wrote to his friend Paulinus that the city was thronged with pilgrims: ‘From all the world people are flocking here. The whole of mankind fills the city.’³ He feared that the everyday duties of the Christian life would be neglected for the excitement of a pilgrimage, and said that the way to

Jerusalem was sometimes mistaken for the road to Heaven. But St. Jerome's warning fell on deaf ears, and all through the Middle Ages pilgrims came and went in an unending procession.

Towards the end of this period, however, much of the original fervour had burnt itself out, and the pilgrimage had become little more than a perfunctory inspection of the holy places in and about Jerusalem. 'A man should undertake this voyage', wrote a Milanese pilgrim in 1480, 'solely with the intention of visiting, contemplating and adoring the most Holy Mysteries, with great effusion of tears, in order that Jesus may graciously pardon his sins; and not with the intention of seeing the world, or from ambition, or to be able to boast "I have been there", or "I have seen that", in order to be exalted by his fellow men.'⁴ The good Dominican, Felix Fabri of Ulm, was deeply shocked by those 'brute beasts' and 'dull unprofitable souls' who showed no emotion when they found themselves in the courtyard of the Holy Sepulchre; he himself was profoundly moved, and many of his companions gave vent to their feelings with 'groans, sweet wailings, and deep sighs',⁵ but there were others who mocked, who found it too tiring to toil from place to place under the July sun, and who preferred to sit in the shade by the wayside, eating figs and sipping wine. Some even performed their pilgrimages by proxy. Clearly, zealous piety was giving way to a desire for prestige and easy salvation, and the pilgrim was rapidly fading into the tourist.

II

Although Tiptoft's commission was issued in the autumn of 1457, he did not set out on his travels until the following spring; letters of attorney 'to John Earl of Worcester going

abroad' were issued to him on 28 January 1458.⁶ The most usual route was by Calais, Dunkirk, Ostend, Bruges, Mechlin, Aerschot and Hassels to Aachen. Here, an alternative route began. Many pilgrims and other travellers went on through Cologne, Bonn (where the inn-keepers were supposed to be very rapacious) to Coblenz, Mainz, Worms and Speyer. Some, however, 'do not wish to go through the city of Cologne on account of the Bishop'⁷ and . . . with God's assistance can travel very well by this route'—Aachen, Trier, Neustadt—rejoining the high road at Speyer. Thence to Ulm the road was good, but after Memmingen the mountains began and the surface deteriorated; when Henry Earl of Derby passed this way in 1392 the wheels of his luggage-cart gave way and had to be newly bound with iron.⁸ The descent to Merano and Trent was better, and after that the way lay across the plain to Padua, whence travellers went by river to Venice.

We do not know where Tiptoft lodged for the few nights he spent in Venice; probably at one of the inns especially designed for pilgrims. In the fourteenth century one 'John the Englishman' kept an inn called the Dragon where all distinguished Englishmen used to lodge on their way to Jerusalem,⁹ but he must have been dead long before 1458. St. George's Inn was patronized chiefly by Germans, and Felix Fabri tells us that there was a big black dog there who wagged his tail when Germans came, but would bite men from any other country.¹⁰

The first thing to be done, even before buying the necessary gear and provisions for the voyage, was to make a contract with the captain of the pilgrims' galley. Since the beginning of the century it had been laid down by the Senate that all contracts between captain, or 'patron', and pilgrims must be drawn up and signed in the presence of all parties concerned

and registered at the office of the Cattaveri in the pilgrims' books which were kept there as a permanent record. These 'patrons' were all Venetian nobles; they had to be at least thirty years old and approved by the Senate as responsible and experienced sailors. The Senate strictly supervised the conduct of the patron, and might revoke his licence. Generally one galley was enough to accommodate all the pilgrims who wished to make the voyage, and by 1458 only one voyage to Jaffa was made each year, the galley remaining in port there to take the pilgrims home again at the end of their tour.

The patron had to provide food for his passengers, serving them with two hot meals a day, with wine and fresh water to drink. In some ships a physician and a barber were carried to look after the pilgrims. When they landed, the patron would make all arrangements for their journeyings in the Holy Land; they paid him an inclusive fee to cover all tolls and tributes, except small tips, and very often he travelled with them all the way. The fare to Jaffa and back was about fifty ducats. All pilgrims took private supplies with them to supplement the meals provided by the patron, for it sometimes happened that they were offered only 'feble brede and feble wyne and stynkyng water'.¹¹ All had to have their own glass and crockery and cabin furniture of bedding, three-legged stool, basin, and chamber-pot. Many had eggs, cheese, and raisins, and wine which they buried in the sand under their bunks to keep it cool. Some even took a hen-coop full of fowls.

In 1458 two galleys were chosen for the Jaffa voyage, one being a fairly new one, the *Loredano*, with three banks of oars. Her owner and captain was Ser Antonio Loredano, son of a Venetian patrician named Daniele, who had already had considerable experience of pilgrim traffic, commanding his first galley nineteen years before this date. Tiptoft not only made

his contract with Ser Antonio, he also petitioned the Venetian Senate to allow Ser Antonio to accompany him everywhere in his visits to the holy places, as his personal guide. This the Senate agreed to do,¹² and to release Ser Antonio from his duties, another captain was appointed to take over the responsibility of his command, so that Ser Antonio could devote his whole time and attention to the service of his noble client.

Next, supplies had to be collected. Food was the first necessity, Lombard cheese, sausages, sweetmeats, and plenty of fruit syrup, and syrup of ginger 'to settle the stomach'. The bakers' shops in the Piazza at Venice were very tempting, showing every variety of bread and biscuit; Canon Pietro Casola (in 1494) found them 'of incredible beauty; there is bread the sight of which tempts even a man who is surfeited to eat again'.¹³ The meat in the market at the Rialto was not so good, poultry was dear, and the fish definitely poor in quality. Boats from Chioggia brought quantities of vegetables every day; they came to the quayside laden with big beans, peas, and cherries. Fresh eggs and fruit could be bought whenever the galley put into port on the voyage, so there was no need to take large quantities of these. Aromatics flavoured with rose and carnation were a necessity rather than a luxury.

In the Piazza, too, could be bought every kind of bedding; a feather-bed, a mattress, pillow, two pairs of sheets and a quilt could all be bought for three ducats, and if they were returned in good condition, one and a half ducats would be allowed for them at the end of the voyage. Tiptoft's servants probably brought bed-linen from home, and perhaps beds and hangings as well, so he would not need to buy these, but he may have thought it wise to buy some extra shirts 'so as to avoid lice and other unclean things as much as possible'.¹⁴ Guide-books and manuals of behaviour and itineraries were

sold here, little books of excellent advice compiled from the experience of many generations of pilgrims. A traveller would be wise to buy one of these, for they often contained besides itineraries and good advice, tables of rates of exchange, and vocabularies of useful words in Moorish, Greek, and Turkish. All were agreed in advising the pilgrim to buy a good stout padlock for the chest in which he would keep his goods.

All baggage had to be taken in little boats out to the galley, for she was anchored nearly two miles off shore, and transhipped with some difficulty. Most noblemen travelling on the Continent took with them enormous quantities of luggage, and often fifty or more servants to look after it, with special sumpter animals to carry the great baskets and bales and iron or wooden boxes. Armour might be carried in barrels, plate and jewels in specially constructed chests. Tiptoft, it seems, did not have with him such elaborate luggage, and his whole retinue amounted to only twenty-seven persons, most of whom were priests.¹⁵

The pilgrims' galley was generally a trireme, with some twenty-five to thirty diagonally-placed benches each side, three oarsmen to a bench, each pulling his own oar. These oarsmen were not galley slaves chained to the benches, as they became in the next century, but free citizens recruited from the stations set up in the Piazza S. Marco.¹⁶ They were always ready to lay down their oars and take up weapons, should the galley be attacked, for every galley was obliged to carry arms, crossbows, arrows, and lances. The galleys were three-masted and rigged like a carvel; as far as possible they depended upon sail, and the oars were kept for emergencies and for manoeuvring in and out of difficult harbours. On the poop, the pilgrims had their meals, and the lucky ones slept; experienced pilgrims secured berths on the upper deck and amidships if possible, 'for in the lowyst under it is ryght

evyl and smouldryng hote and stynkyng'.¹⁷ There was a fighting platform in the bow, a crow's nest or 'basket' at the top of the mainmast, and at the stern a large high castle. Here the captain lived, and any distinguished men who happened to be aboard. It was covered with tarred planks, so that it was snug and watertight. According to Fabri, all galleys were as much alike as swallows' nests, so we can assume that the *Loredano* corresponded to the ordinary type of trireme, or galley with three banks of oars.

III

Once aboard the galley, Tiptoft met a number of congenial companions, with some of whom he struck up a warm friendship. There were several other Englishmen in the party, among them William Wey who was one of the original Fellows of Eton, and who dictated a brief account of his travels, published as *the Itineraries of William Wey* by the Roxburghe Club in 1857,¹⁸ but he was in the second galley, which sailed a day earlier than the *Loredano* and arrived simultaneously at Jaffa. Another fellow pilgrim who wrote an account of the pilgrimage, and to whom we owe most of the information about Tiptoft's doings, was the famous condottiere, Roberto Sanseverino.¹⁹ Roberto was forty years old at this time; he was a nephew of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and succeeded to his father's title of Conte di Caiazzo. He fought as a condottiere at first on behalf of Milan; later he transferred his services to the Venetians as a result of a quarrel with Lodovico Sforza in 1481. Before this date he was often in Bologna in charge of the Milanese troops, and he brought his Sienese wife there as a bride in 1473. He was killed on 13 August 1487 near Trent when waging a frontier war for Venice against Sigismund Count of Tyrol.

With Roberto's party were two other Milanese, Carlo Bosso of the Duchess's household, and Giovanni Matteo Butigella, a 'ducal courtier', with his two servants. Two distinguished scholars were there too, Giovanni Martino of Parma, M.A. and doctor of medicine, and Gabriele Capodilista, a famous jurist of Padua. Butigella wrote a short history of the expedition, but it seems that this exists now only in a Spanish version that is, or was, at Toledo. Capodilista also wrote an account of the journey, which was printed (probably) at Perugia (Hain 4382) without a date. It is now very rare; only three copies are known to exist, one being at Seville and the others in the Biblioteca Universitaria of Bologna and the Marciana at Venice.

All these passengers dined with the captain in the deck house or stern castle, as did Tiptoft, and they were obliged to live at very close quarters for the whole voyage, so there were ample opportunities for making friends or enemies. These noblemen, with their own servants to wait upon them, had no need to join in the general stampede towards the poop when the trumpets summoned the pilgrims to their meals, and dined quietly in the deck-house, or in the open air, or if they felt unwell their servants could bring food to their cabins by paying extra to the cooks for this privilege.

Before they went aboard, all the pilgrims had attended Mass in S. Marco on Ascension Day, which this year fell on 11 May, and afterwards witnessed the famous ceremony of wedding the Adriatic, when the Doge with the Senate and all the Guilds bearing their banners walked in procession across the Piazza and embarked in numbers of brilliantly decorated gondolas, rowing out beyond the harbour to the open sea. Here the Patriarch blessed the sea, and, following the time-honoured custom, the Doge took from his finger a gold ring and flung it to the waves. Afterwards, there was

great rejoicing, shouting and singing, with much beating of drums and blowing of trumpets, and the Grand Canal was crowded with every kind of craft, and everyone forgot the sumptuary laws and dressed in the wildest and most gorgeous colours. It was a thrilling spectacle for northern visitors, accustomed to more sober and less joyous celebrations.

The *Loredano* should have sailed on Sunday, 14 May; all the pilgrims heard Mass at S. Paolo and made their communion, but the patron was not ready, and Roberto Sanseverino and his friends went back to sleep another night on shore. Next day, the wind sprang up, and they could not reach the galley as the rowers of their 'barcha' could make no headway against the strong wind. On Wednesday, 17 May, they managed to get on board, and that night the oarsmen took the galley out a mile or two, then sail was hoisted, and they made such good progress that by morning they were fifty miles from Venice.

After the excitement of departure had died down, and the *Loredano* slowly made her way down the Adriatic, the pilgrims began to find the voyage tedious, and to devise amusements to pass the time. In their cramped quarters there was little to do beyond playing chess, or pitch and toss, or backgammon, or making small wagers, or organizing sweepstakes. The most energetic climbed the rigging for exercise, and leaped about the shrouds in a gymnastic fashion 'more like monkeys than men and more like birds than monkeys',²⁰ often to the great annoyance of the sailors. The more studious spent their time reading, talking, telling their beads, and writing their diaries. When the Burgomaster of Freiburg went on pilgrimage in 1515 he took with him an ape to amuse his shipmates, one of whom, a Cambridge scholar, described his passion for all novelties, and how he used to make notes in red ink in his guide-book of the names and locations of all the towns he

saw.²¹ William Wey made an admirable map, perhaps on his return journey, to illustrate his *Itineraries*; it is now in the Bodleian Library.²² All alike were compelled to spend time each day in searching their clothes for vermin. As Felix Fabri has it—‘there is among all the occupations of seafarers one which, albeit loathsome, is yet very common, daily, and necessary—I mean the hunting and catching of lice and vermin. Unless a man spends several hours in this work when he is on a pilgrimage, he will have but unquiet slumbers.’²³

On 23 May the galley skirted round some dangerous shoals off the island of Curzola, and the next day put into their first port, Ragusa (now Dubrovnik). Some of the pilgrims wanted to see the city, with its towering walls and strong fortifications, so they went ashore and heard Mass at S. Francesco and then explored the city walls. Next day they again put out to sea, but the wind had dropped, and it took all day and all night to cover fifteen miles.

Three days later the wind suddenly freshened, with heavy squalls of rain, so that the galley tried to take shelter at Dolcigno, but could not make the harbour. The patron was seriously alarmed, and ordered all sails to be lowered and the vessel was hove to. Of the pilgrims, like those in Erasmus’s shipwreck, ‘some were Spewing, some were Praying’,²⁴ and all were miserable and frightened. At last the patron, ‘seeing no other remedy’, wrote down all the names of saints that he could think of on little pieces of paper and put them in a hat. Then some of the pilgrims, Roberto among them and no doubt Tiptoft too, were invited to draw the names out of the hat, commit them to memory, and throw the pieces of paper into the sea, promising a mass in the saint’s honour if they should ever reach dry land. ‘At once’, says Roberto, ‘the tempest abated’,²⁵ and the ship was left rocking on a

heavy sea. Small wonder, after what they had been through, that next day the pilgrims were 'lassi et afflitti'.

Soon afterwards, on 2 June, the galley put in to the harbour of Durazzo, and Roberto landed and went to visit the Venetian rector of the city, for Durazzo was one of the most flourishing of Venetian colonies. Next day, every man on board the *Loredano* received a present of fruit and wine from the rector, to cheer them on their way. Five days later they reached Crete, and wanted to land at Candia, but on hearing that there was plague in the city, no one was allowed to disembark, and they hastily sailed away.

On Saturday, 10 June, Rhodes was sighted, but before they reached this safe and excellent harbour, the *Loredano* was chased by a Genoese pirate, and for an hour or two matters looked ugly. However, the patron showed great presence of mind, hailing the Genoese vessel, and shouting that they were Catalans and that they had plague on board. So, 'by the grace of God, the strength of the sails, and the cunning of the sailors' they escaped molestation, and a few hours later were safely ashore.

The Knights of Rhodes welcomed the pilgrims, and gave them lodging in the monastery of S. Caterina. On Sunday they heard Mass there, and then a deputation of Knights arrived to escort Roberto and his companions, perhaps Tiptoft among them though he is not mentioned by name, to visit the Grand Master who was in bed with a sharp attack of gout. The Grand Master at this time was a Frenchman, Jacques de Milly, who had been instituted four years earlier.²⁶ All dined together with the Knights; that is, all the noblemen among the *Loredano*'s passengers, and duly admired the marvellous display of silver plate and enjoyed the excellent meal. Afterwards, they had supper with the Patriarch, and some of the Knights took them to see a 'festa' in the house

of some Greek citizen, an experience Roberto very much enjoyed.

Roberto was also deeply interested in the Arsenal, or store of munitions for the galleys, shown him by the Patriarch, and was impressed by the size and strength of the 'balestre' which could throw enormous missiles very accurately over a great distance. When he returned to his lodging, Roberto found a messenger from the Castellan, waiting with an invitation to dinner for the following day. On Monday, 12 June, immediately after Mass, their host sent horses to meet Roberto and Tiptoft and others of their party, for the garden where they were to dine was in the hills some two miles away. As soon as they arrived there, they were shown a delightful garden, full of orange trees, cedars, bay, and many kinds of fruit and sweet-smelling shrubs, and ornamental fountains. It was cool and refreshing dining in the open air in the shade of tall trees, with a carpet of flowers beneath their feet and the air full of delicious perfume.²⁷ It was a good dinner, too, perfectly served, and the pilgrims enjoyed it all the more as a contrast to the meals on board ship.

After dinner the Castellan took his guests to see the holy thorn which used to flower on Good Friday, and relics of St. Catherine and St. Anthony. Then they all went back to the ship and had supper and slept on board, and the next morning, after hearing Mass and receiving presents of wine and fruit, they departed for Cyprus. The island was sighted on Thursday, 15 June, but it took some time to beat in to harbour against a contrary wind, and it was Saturday before Roberto and his friends landed. No pilgrim galleys ever stayed more than a day or two at Cyprus, for it was supposed to be very unhealthy, and from what Roberto tells us of the complete lack of sanitary arrangements there, it is not surprising. Pilgrims were particularly warned against buying the

tempting-looking juicy melons offered for sale, for these were said to 'engender a bloody flux' in Englishmen and Germans, though it seems that the Latin races could eat them with impunity.

As soon as Cyprus was left behind, the pilgrims began to look out excitedly for the first glimpse of the mountains of the Holy Land. The wind freshened and they made good speed, so that on the morning of 19 June they had a clear view of Mount Carmel. At this, all the priests on board burst into a *Te Deum* 'with many devotions'. The evening of the same day, Jaffa was reached, and the patron made his men drop anchor about a mile outside the harbour, till the landing formalities should be completed.

It had been on the whole a good voyage, but for the one violent storm. Normally, the voyage took a month, but often the unhappy pilgrims were tossed about for six weeks or more, and their sufferings from sea-sickness, battened under hatches as they were, in their dark, dirty, congested, and verminous quarters, were scarcely endurable. One voyage is recorded which took nineteen weeks and a day, with 'grete tempest, with exedyng rayne, and with the gretyst rage of wynde that euer I sawe in all my lyfe'. These unfortunates must indeed have been thankful to step ashore after their 'outragyous long lyenge on the see'.²⁸

IV

While the patron sent off a messenger to Ramleh to arrange for licences to be supplied to the pilgrims, and to warn the donkey-boys to drive their animals down to the shore, those on board the *Loredano* were packing up their gear and getting ready to disembark. All the noblemen took off their good clothes and stowed them away, putting on wretched old rags

borrowed from their servants.²⁹ This was not from any feeling of humility or piety, but to avoid paying extra tolls to the 'malicious and ribald Saracen dogs' who delighted to ill-treat anyone of gentle birth and who refused to tolerate any show of nobility. Roberto Sanseverino and his friends lowered their dignity to the extent of fraternizing with their own servants; to Tiptoft such behaviour would not be difficult, for he was singularly free from class-consciousness, and always showed himself ready to mix on equal terms with his inferiors—this trait accounts for the wide circle of his friends and the great affection shown him by simple people like Caxton, John Rous, and the bookseller Vespasiano.

On Wednesday, 21 June, after tipping the ships' officers, the hundred and ninety-seven pilgrims from the two galleys were landed in small boats, the more pious leaping into the surf and struggling to shore, falling to kiss the ground in their enthusiasm. The Turkish officials demanded each man's name and status, which were written down in a book. If the pilgrims had suffered on board ship, even then they were ill-prepared for the horrors of the night before them. All alike, rich and poor, men and women, were herded into wretched and filthy caves on the sea-shore, and were forced to scrape the litter and filth into a heap before they could clear spaces for lying down; there could be little thought of sleep in such a place. Native traders came and sold branches to make beds, and perfumes and frankincense to burn, and water and lettuces and hot cakes. Tiptoft's servants would prepare him a comparatively comfortable bed, and he could afford to buy attar of roses from Damascus, which might conquer all but the most powerful smells; but others less fortunate would have to lie like cattle and comfort themselves as best they might.

Before they could lie down to rest, an armed man appeared at the mouth of the caves, and demanded a penny from each

pilgrim, and again in the morning all had to pay another penny before he would allow them to emerge. This was typical of the minor oppressions that the pilgrims would have to suffer at the hands of the Turks, who, although they tolerated the pilgrims for the sake of the money they compelled them to spend, and seldom seriously molested them, made them suffer continually by pilfering and importunity. The pilgrims had to keep a very sharp eye upon their property, and William Wey summed up the situation well when he said: 'The Sarsenes wyl go talkyng wyth yow and make goyd chere, but they wyl stèle fro yow that ye have an they may'. On one occasion, a few years earlier, a quarrel arose between the Turkish officer in charge and a party of pilgrims when they, showing unexpected spirit, refused to pay the illegal tribute demanded by the officer. A fierce fight ensued, and the pilgrims overpowered the Turk and his men and carried them before the Governor of Jerusalem, demanding justice. 'The Governor at once held his enquiry and pronounced sentence of death on the officer, whose head was cut off without more ado.'³⁰ As a rule, however, the pilgrims meekly paid whatever tolls were demanded.

At Jaffa, donkeys were engaged for the journey to Jerusalem. The experienced traveller engaged his mount and donkey-boy at the earliest possible moment, for all cost the same—two ducats—and naturally some were much better than others. The first halt was at Ramleh, where the pilgrims attended their first Mass in Palestine. One of the Franciscan friars of Mount Syon preached a sermon full of advice as to suitable behaviour. The pilgrims were exhorted to use tact and to show to the Turks the tolerance that they expected to receive. They could wander about as much as they pleased, provided they remained with their own party, but should never make solitary expeditions. They must be very careful not to offend

the Saracens in any way, nor to defile their graves by stepping over them, nor to try to enter their mosques. On no account must they chip fragments off the Holy Sepulchre, to carry home as souvenirs,³¹ nor must pilgrims of noble birth deface walls by drawing their coats of arms upon them.

After Mass it was still early, for the first stage had been begun well before sunrise, and the pilgrims were pleased to see traders laden with attractive food; roast fowls, bread, and eggs, and fruit of every kind. In the afternoon, those who wished could have hot baths in the splendid marble bathrooms; others made a short expedition to the village of Lydda to see the place where St. George was martyred. They all stayed the night at Ramleh, and slept in comfort and cleanliness on their hired sleeping mats, making up arrears from the previous horrible night. Next day they should have started an hour before dawn, but Roberto Sanseverino quarrelled with the donkey-boys, whom he found 'very insolent', and departure was delayed till after sunrise. About eight miles from Ramleh they reached a mountainous district, very stony and difficult to negotiate; many of the pilgrims were injured by falling pebbles. From the hill called Mount Joy a distant prospect of Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives lay before them, and heartened the pilgrims for the rest of their hot and dusty journey.

On the way to Jerusalem they halted at Emmaus and Arimathea, so that they did not arrive at Jerusalem till the late afternoon. Going straight to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, they found it shut, and learned that they could only be admitted with a permit and at certain times. This church was only opened at this one season of the year; after the departure of the pilgrims the Guardians of the Holy Sepulchre would be locked in and fed through holes in the door until the next year's band of pilgrims should arrive. As

soon as they arrived, Tiptoft had Mass celebrated by one of his chaplains in the Chapel of Our Lady, and an English priest, a Fellow of Eton—perhaps William Wey himself—preached a sermon.³²

Next morning the pilgrims were up betimes, and spent an exhausting day visiting the stations in Jerusalem, Mount Calvary (where Tiptoft's priests sang a Mass), the Vale of Josaphat, the Mount of Olives, the Vale of Syloc, Mount Syon, and the Holy Sepulchre, between sunrise and sunset. The place where the Apostles composed the Creed, the house of the Virgin Mary, the tree on which Judas hanged himself, all were visited, and in the church on the Mount of Olives the mark of Christ's left foot imprinted on the stone whence He ascended into Heaven. Roberto found the Garden of Gethsemane 'uncultivated', and a tangle of vegetation. None of the pilgrims were able to see St. Anne's house, for that had become a mosque, although Sir Richard Guylforde's chaplain found some years later that it could be entered 'pryuely or for brybes'.³³ According to custom, all the pilgrims were invited to dinner by the Friars of Mount Syon, and afterwards they made their arrangements for sleeping in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and there they passed the night of Sunday, 25 June.

Roberto Sanseverino did not go to Bethlehem next day with Tiptoft and the other pilgrims, as he was planning to stay on in Palestine and to make the long expedition to Mount Sinai after they had left. At Bethlehem the pilgrims attended a choral Mass at the altar of Christ's nativity, sung by Tiptoft's chaplains,³⁴ and spent the night in the little walled town. On Tuesday they returned in leisurely fashion to Jerusalem, and that night William Wey and his friends attended a midnight Mass arranged for them by Tiptoft on Mount Calvary.

The same day, Tiptoft rejoined Roberto Sanseverino at

his lodgings, and they went together with Giovanni Matteo Butigella and Carlo Bosso to the Holy Sepulchre. Here Tiptoft, calling on Christ's name, knighted Roberto's friends with a golden sword.³⁵ The Knights of the Holy Sepulchre were a military order presided over at this time by the King of Aragon ; Giustiniani gives a full description of the ceremony of knighthood in his *Historia di tutti gli Ordini Militari e Cauallereschi*.³⁶ First, the *Veni Creator* was sung, and after a few prayers each candidate made a fivefold promise, to hear Mass daily, to venture his life and all that he had in defence of the Christian Faith, to defend the Church, to avoid all injustice and usury, and finally to keep peace and concord between Christian peoples, defend widows and orphans, refrain from homicide, and abjuring luxury to present an example of the Christian life. The *Guardian* (in this case Tiptoft) then blessed the sword, and after more prayers he gave the candidates their spurs, and bidding them kneel, he dubbed them Knight in the name of Christ, and immediately gave them the kiss of peace. After they had all sung a *Te Deum*, Tiptoft gave each of the new knights a book of the statutes of his Order, and made a brief speech, exhorting Giovanni Matteo and Carlo Bosso to live up to their vows and to remember in what a 'precious and holy place' their profession had been made.

On the eighth day of the pilgrimage, Thursday, 29 June, most of the party went to visit Mount Quarantana, where Christ fasted forty days and forty nights ; but Roberto stayed behind, as he wanted to write letters for Carlo Bosso to take home to Italy. Thence they went on to the River Jordan to bathe. Those who plunged into the Jordan's sacred but muddy waters were believed to renew their youth, and many pilgrims brought bells, or strips of material, to be blessed with Jordan water. Some smuggled away phials of the water ;

this was forbidden, because sailors thought it caused storms when carried over the sea. Foolhardy pilgrims who dived into the lukewarm stream were sometimes drowned, for the bottom was muddy and the water far from clear, so that in the excitement they might stick in the mud and be trampled underfoot by the crowd of bathers. They decided that the Dead Sea was too far off to visit, as there was nothing to see there except the statue of Lot's wife [*sic*].

It was decided to abandon also the expedition to Mount Sinai, perhaps on the advice of Antonio Loredano, who knew of its perils and hardships, and who was perhaps anxious to return to Venice. Even under favourable conditions it took fifteen days each way, and the heat and the dust and barrenness were very trying to European travellers. It was said that no pilgrim ever undertook this journey twice. The Spaniard Pero Tafur had borrowed three camels and a mariner's compass 'and crossed the lifeless desert of Egypt with much labour and great peril',³⁷ but that was more than twenty years earlier. In 1458 the country was in a thoroughly unsettled state, and bands of Arab raiders were ready to prey upon either Turk or Christian. Only three years before this date a young German nobleman had been staying with a friend in Damascus and was planning a trip to Mount Sinai and St. Catherine's Chapel when, in his own words, 'I and my companion were seized and closely imprisoned. We finally obtained our liberty, but it cost us as much as 30 ducats. Our journey, therefore, was abandoned, for we did not desire to know more of the heathen and Arabs.'³⁸

When they got back to Jerusalem the pilgrims went to visit the Holy Sepulchre for the third and last time. On Saturday, 1 July, they all heard Mass together on Mount Calvary, and in the afternoon the English pilgrims went to Bethany. The rest of the day was spent in packing, and

on Sunday they said good-bye to Roberto Sanseverino, Giovanni Martino of Parma, and Giovanni Matteo Butigella, who intended to accompany him to Mount Sinai, 'after many tears and kisses' and departed for Ramleh, Jaffa, and the good ship *Loredano*.

V

On 5 July the galley nosed her way cautiously out of the harbour, and with a fair wind set sail for Venice. As was customary, the patron put in to Rhodes, and here the pilgrims stayed a couple of days. The knights were constantly at war with the Turks, and they told William Wey and the others that two hundred and fifty Turks had been captured a few weeks earlier and most cruelly put to death.³⁹ The Christian knights impaled some of their victims while still living, hewed others in little pieces and beheaded and hanged the rest. This savagery was said to be in retaliation for the brutality of the Turks, but there can be little doubt that the knights far exceeded any Turkish example; Mohammed II, the fierce and predatory conqueror of Byzantium, is said to have turned pale when he heard of their practices. On the outward voyage Roberto Sanseverino had remarked in his diary that these 250 Turks had been captured by the knights and were then on their way to Rhodes to be tortured and slain.⁴⁰ It is very likely that Tiptoft took his ideas of mutilating the bodies of his victims⁴¹ from these most unchristian practices of the Knights of Rhodes.

Slowly the galley beat her way up the Adriatic, for after a good start the wind became contrary and there were exasperating periods of dead calm, when the ship remained almost motionless and the pitch melted in the seams, and the pilgrims sweltered in the August heat. The voyage was without mishap, but it took seven weeks and a day for the

Loredano to get back to Venice, and it was 6 September before she dropped anchor there. Although the pilgrims had not been able to pick up oyster-shells from the shore of the Red Sea as an earnest of their pilgrimage, they gave thanks for all they had been able to see and do—‘thankynge Almyghty God with all our hertes of ye grete grace that he gaue vnto vs to se and vysyte the sayde blesyed places and holy cytie ones in our lyues or thanne we dyed’.⁴²

When the citizens of Venice caught sight of the galley, they rang a peal of bells to welcome her home, and the pilgrims sent up a shout of joy as the *Loredano* glided into the still water of the lagoons.

CHAPTER IV

GUARINO AND HIS CIRCLE

‘ . . . movere tuae praeconia famae
Hos etiam: musas qui condemnare solebant.’

JANUS PANNONIUS: *Panegyricus*, etc.

I

SOME of the pilgrims made their way home as soon as possible after they had landed at Venice, given thanks in S. Marco for their safe return and disposed of their gear to the dealers in the Piazza. Others lingered there, fascinated by the beauty of the city, so different from the grey-walled towns of the north. The intricate water-ways and the sound of water lapping against ancient walls appealed to the more romantic spirits, while others were impressed by the complete freedom from mud and dust.¹ Tiptoft was always anxious to see all that could be seen, and he probably stayed in Venice some days, visiting the chief places and exploring the byways, which he had not had time to do before his pilgrimage. At the monastery of S. Giorgio there were relics said to be the arm of St. George himself, and the bodies of SS. Cosmas and Damian, and at the monastery of S. Helena her body might be seen, as well as a portion of the True Cross and the thumb of Constantine. The devout would of course visit these shrines, and as Tiptoft had the double motive of piety and a lively curiosity, it is highly probable that he saw these and other relics. It is likely, too, that he visited the great arsenal, where a thousand men were engaged in making

munitions and fifty women sat all day sewing sails for the galleys.²

One of Tiptoft's fellow pilgrims, Gabriele Capodilista, had a brother, Francesco, who was a famous lecturer at Padua, and he perhaps suggested that Tiptoft should go there to study the humanities. Possibly such a plan was in his mind when he set out on his travels; he may have talked it over with Gray or Flemmyng who had already studied there. At all events, Tiptoft did go to Padua soon after his return from Palestine, for he was established there when Roberto Sanseverino returned from his pilgrimage. Roberto had met with some trouble in securing guides for his journey to Mount Sinai, and that had delayed him, while Giovanni Matteo developed a serious fever that left him so weak that he had to stay in Jerusalem until Roberto came back. Even then he was not really well enough to travel, but he was anxious to get home, and although the winter storms had begun they set sail from Acre. It was a terrible voyage, and poor Giovanni Matteo lay in his berth groaning and praying for death, but he revived when they reached land and soon began to recover his strength.

On their way back to Milan, Roberto and Giovanni Matteo passed through Padua, and on 14 January 1459 they called on Tiptoft at his lodgings.³ They were anxious to see him, for Roberto tells us they had grown very fond of him, and for his part Tiptoft was delighted to welcome his visitors. 'As soon as he saw them, he welcomed them joyously and with great goodwill, and wished to do for them everything that he could.' The Milanese stayed there some time, exchanging reminiscences with Tiptoft and telling him of their adventures. Then, 'with many tender embraces', they left Tiptoft and went off to sup and spend the night with Gabriele Capodilista in his beautiful villa some three miles away.

At Padua Tiptoft perhaps lodged in the hospice adjoining the Jurists' school in the Strada di S. Biagio, now pulled down, or in the Strada di Santa Caterina where the artists had their hospice, for the notaries' books of this period make no mention of any house hired by him. To-day Padua is a sad grey city, and although it still has a flourishing studio and many students, both serious and gay, much of its ancient glory has departed. Medieval Padua was a very different place. Then crowds of eager, excited and often disorderly students of all races thronged the arcaded streets, discussing, arguing, quarrelling, surging into lecture-room, bookshop and tavern. Earlier in the fifteenth century Guarino da Verona declared that when he was a student the tutelary deity of all his fellows was Bacchus, and that they celebrated his feast not annually but daily and, indeed, more than once in the day.⁴

In Padua Tiptoft probably began his collection of books, and he must have spent many happy hours wandering about the old town, tourist fashion, and exploring the byways and seeing the conventional 'sights'. Of course he would visit the thirteenth-century tomb where were buried the bones said to be those of Antenor the legendary founder of Padua, and the great basilica of S. Antonio with the curiously Byzantine exterior, in front of which stood Donatello's newly-erected statue of the condottiere Erasmo da Narni, better known as Gattamelata. For the greater part of two years Tiptoft stayed on in Padua; for some months he was away in Ferrara studying under Guarino da Verona, but he was back in Padua by September 1460, and he was there when Guarino died in December of that year.

II

Guarino da Verona was nearly at the end of his long life, but he retained all his mental vigour and went on teaching

to within a few days of his death. In 1436 Guarino had been appointed the first professor of rhetoric at Ferrara, a post which he held until he died, and in which he was succeeded by his youngest son Battista. When the Marquis Niccolò III died and was succeeded by his son Leonello d'Este, a golden age began for the poets, artists and scholars who thronged the young prince's court. Leonello was an enthusiastic supporter of the New Learning to which Guarino had introduced him, and he showed himself an intelligent and discerning patron, discriminating in his rewards and shrewd in his appreciation of genuine talent. He was, too, a charming and attractive person and embodied most of the virtues of the Renaissance Prince with singularly few of his vices.

Leonello died in 1450 and was succeeded by his half-brother Borso, a natural son of Niccolò III. Borso was very different from Leonello, physically, mentally and morally. He was ruddy and fair-headed, full of animal spirits, cruel and untrustworthy. He was the friend of men of letters only so far as he thought they shed lustre upon his court, and really preferred the society of bird-fanciers and barbers. Where Leonello had sown, Borso reaped, and Ferrara vied with Florence as the home of the humanities. Borso spent most of his time in hunting and other pastimes; he is shown in the frescoes of the Palazzo Schifanoia as a powerful young man with a broad and enigmatic smile, in a variety of delightful occupations, clad always in cloth of gold and jewels, surrounded by vivacious ladies.

The preoccupations of Borso, however, did not affect the affairs of the studio in Guarino's time, and students were attracted to his lectures 'not only from Italian cities, . . . but from Poland, Germany, France, and the shores of Spain, from remote Mediterranean islands, and even from Britain, which is indeed at the other end of the world'.⁵ From all

these distant places students came, braving the difficulties, dangers, expense and inconvenience of the journey in their anxiety to enter into that new world of enlightenment and knowledge to which Guarino held the key.

Many of these intrepid scholars who made their way to Padua and Ferrara won great distinction in the studio. Guarino never had a more responsive pupil than the Bohemian Janus Pannonius, who wrote Latin verse with elegance and ease, and was passionately interested in his studies. Vespasiano says of him : 'he sat for three hours without stirring, and never lifted his eyes from his book (a volume of Plotinus) ; not like other ultramontanes, who as a rule have no taste for close study, but more like one of Athenian nurture, who had been brought under the discipline of Socrates.'⁶

Guarino's principles and methods have been described by his son Battista, himself a very sound scholar who, at the age of twenty-one, had been elected to the chair of rhetoric at Bologna in 1455 ; he was the natural successor to his father at Ferrara, where he taught under his direction for several years. Battista's treatise, *De Ordine Docendi et Studendi* was written in 1459, while Guarino da Verona was at the pinnacle of his fame ; it was printed at Heidelberg thirty years later. In recommending classical literature he says : 'Good books give no offence, call forth no rebuke ; they will stir you, but with no empty hopes, no vain fears . . . through books and books alone, will your converse be with the best and greatest, nay, even with the mighty dead themselves'. Battista outlines his father's main precepts that the foundation of education must be laid in grammar, the importance of studying Homer, the value of reading aloud, the approach to rhetoric through Cicero, and the careful choice and sequence of classical authors. Finally, he says 'this little work . . . does but exhibit that order and method of study which my learned and revered

father has followed for many years in his own school. For as from the Trojan horse of old the Greek heroes spread over the captured city, so from that famous Academy of my father has proceeded the greater number of those scholars who have carried learning, not merely throughout Italy, but far beyond her borders'.⁷

In his funeral oration upon Guarino's death,⁸ Lodovico Carbone enumerates some of Guarino's most distinguished pupils. Among them he names five Englishmen, 'men by nature barbarous', whom Guarino has freed from their savage speech and whom he has taught to express themselves in the Latin tongue. First there is William Gray, Bishop of Ely, very learned in philosophy and theology, then Robert Flemmyng, whose skill in humanistic arts has led to his appointment as King's Proctor at Rome, and his own particular friends John Free and John Gunthorp. Gunthorp was studying poetry in Ferrara at this time, as he tells us in the copy of Seneca's *Tragedies* which he wrote out for himself and completed in August 1460.⁹

Of Tiptoft, Carbone has much to say. He describes his early career and successful tenure of high office. After returning from Jerusalem Tiptoft has been held captive in Italy three [sic] years by the Muses, and is even now studying at Padua. Carbone has a personal reason for speaking well of him, for Tiptoft has invited him to England, 'induced by some good opinion of my talents'. Carbone too had a good opinion of his talents, and he tells the people of Ferrara that if they prove 'ungrateful' he will undoubtedly go to England. He did not, however, avail himself of Tiptoft's invitation.

Carbone had made a name for himself as an orator who could adapt his style equally well to weddings, funerals, or the visits of important personages. He was really more of a courtier than a scholar; he did translate Sallust for Alberto



MEDAL OF GUARINO DA VERONA

d'Este, but he was more at home in writing dialogues in Latin or the vernacular.¹⁰ He was extremely versatile; for a time he lectured on rhetoric and poetry at Bologna and made there an admirable address to the doctors and students;¹¹ he wrote and recited an *Epithalamium* when Ercole d'Este was married to Leonora of Aragon,¹² and once when he was short of money he undertook to write out various humanistic tracts and translations¹³ for some unknown patron.

With his expensive tastes and desire to lead a lordly and luxurious life, Carbone found his university stipend too small. The Este were generous patrons, however, and treated him better than he deserved, taking him at his own valuation. Pius II gave him the title of Count Palatine to reward him for the oration he made in the church of S. Maria degli Angeli on the occasion of the Pope's visit, and when the Emperor Frederick III came to Ferrara he gave Carbone the inexpensive but honourable present of a poet's crown.

III

Gray and Tiptoft were perhaps the only Englishmen of their time who understood what the Italians meant by 'patronage'. If a wealthy Englishman wanted to help a young scholar he might take him into his household, feed and clothe him and give him a modest salary, but he would expect him to perform all the duties of a secretary. In the case of the unfortunate William of Wyrcester, his close-fisted patron, Sir John Fastolf, worked him to the verge of a nervous breakdown, grudgingly gave him a few books,¹⁴ and when he died left his protégé without a penny.

In Italy matters were very different. Here the humanist was an exalted figure; his fortune might be precarious and apt to vary with his reputation, but genuine talent was sure of

recognition. The princes competed for the honour of entertaining famous scholars and tempted the more eminent to their courts with offers of ducats and pensions. It seemed to them right and just that the scholar who was engaged upon work which might make him (and them) immortal should be relieved from all anxiety about material things.

This attitude often led to sycophancy or arrogance on the part of the humanists, according to their temperament and renown. A young, ambitious, and unknown scholar could not be too fulsome in his praises and flattery of the patron who supported him; but a humanist of established reputation could afford to give rein to his pride and greed, secure in the knowledge that a reward denied him by one patron would readily be granted by another. Pier Candido Decembrio thought little of writing to ask Duke Humphrey of Gloucester to buy him Petrarch's villa at Garignano,¹⁵ and phrased his request with insolent coolness, for he wished to emulate Filelfo who had lately been given 'a beautiful and well-equipped house' by the Duke of Milan. Decembrio was, however, disappointed. Duke Humphrey failed to respond to this and other requests. Leonardo Bruni, too, found him insufficiently appreciative. Bruni had originally dedicated his version of Aristotle's *Politics*¹⁶ to the duke, but took exception to his reply and withdrew the proem, adding a fresh dedication in favour of Eugenius IV. The Pope was, Vespasiano tells us, delighted with Bruni's *Politics* and received him 'with distinguished consideration'.¹⁷

Bishop Gray, on the other hand, was a most generous benefactor, and judicious in giving help to scholars of real worth. He quickly recognized the ability of the young Italian Niccolò Perotti, whom he met at Ferrara, and Perotti went with Gray to Rome as a member of his household. Perotti had been at the school of Vittorino da Feltre, which he entered

in 1443, and he was clearly a boy of great promise. When he told the Bishop that he wished to learn Greek, Gray generously provided him with books and arranged for his instruction by Cardinal Bessarion, thus setting him upon the threshold of a very distinguished career.¹⁸ Gray did not, however, help foreigners to the exclusion of his own countrymen. While he was at Rome he heard that a young Englishman, John Capgrave, was lying ill with fever, and at once went to see him and looked after him until he recovered. Capgrave was duly grateful and repaid his benefactor by dedicating to him his *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, with a preface rehearsing Gray's kindness.¹⁹

John Free, or Phreas, studied for many years in Italy at Gray's expense, and Gray may have helped John Gunthorp as well. Both had been at Balliol, Gray's own college, and Free was elected a Fellow; he took his M.A. at Oxford in 1454. After leaving Oxford, Free was for a time Rector of St. Michael in Monte at Bristol; Leland says that he met there some sailors or merchants who fired his imagination with their tales of the wonders of Italy and made him anxious to go there to study. Free seems to have reached Ferrara about 1456; he stayed there three or four years studying under Guarino, to whom he wrote a complimentary letter, telling him that he had heard of his fame in England and had come to Italy in the hope that Guarino would correct his rustic Latin style and render it urbane. 'To lay bare my ignorance', he says, 'I am not ashamed, for it is in this way that I hope to become more learned.'²⁰ This letter, together with several to Gray and to other friends, is preserved in a Bodleian MS.²¹ The letters are not in chronological order; they are merely rough copies put together at random, and are full of confusion and errors, but they throw a very interesting light upon Free's ideas and his relations with his patron and his friends.

To Bishop Gray he always shows gratitude, and assures him that he is getting on well with his studies; sometimes there is a hint of home-sickness, and more than once the suggestion that cash is running short. On 25 October 1457 Free writes to thank Gray for benefits received ('habundantes pecunias'), says that the money is now almost used up, and complains that he had not heard from the Bishop for ten months, and that he thinks of him day and night 'on account of the uncertainty of his health and the frailty of human nature'. A few days ago the great Lorenzo Valla has died; Free speaks of him as a very famous man and an exponent of Latin style, but he has nothing to say about his real significance as a humanist. Later in the year Free writes again in the same strain, and in December 1458 his letter is full of woe. The ten pounds Gray gave him has now entirely gone, he has had to pawn his books and clothes to the Jews for small sums; now he has neither books nor clothes nor money. He has received no letters and is very lonely, for Gray's nephew, whom he had sent to study in Italy, is dead: Free consoles his patron for this loss with arguments drawn from Petrarch's writings.

John Free writes to his other friends in a more cheerful strain. The letter to 'John of Hungary', known as Janus Pannonius,²² shows pleasant comradeship, and its phrasing suggests that the two students were already friends. There is a fragmentary letter to Girolamo Castiglione, a famous orator and court physician to the Este, and a longer one to Lodovico Carbone, both freely sprinkled with Greek quotations. The letter to Carbone is particularly interesting because it was sent by the hand of the Greek Andronico Callisto, Free's tutor and friend, whom he recommends to Carbone. He makes a reference to Carbone's well-known admiration for his own Greek teacher Teodoro Gaza, whom Carbone

describes as his 'most dear preceptor'²³ and to whom he constantly refers in his orations, always in the warmest terms. Andronico Callisto was a Greek of the Dispersion, the teacher of Politian, and a fine scholar. He left Ferrara in 1458 to lecture on moral philosophy and Greek at Bologna,²⁴ so he cannot have met Tiptoft there, but he went to Florence about 1459–60, so they may possibly have met in that city. Later, Callisto went to Rome; ever since the death of his Florentine patron Palla Strozzi in 1462 he had been very poor, and in 1475 he was compelled to sell his manuscripts at Milan to procure money for his journey to Paris. Here, too, he failed to make a living, so he determined to go to England, moved perhaps by his memories of John Free and Tiptoft. By then both were dead; had either been alive in 1476 we can hardly believe that so distinguished a scholar would have been allowed to die of starvation in London, poor and 'έρημος φίλων'²⁵

In one of the letters Free asks Gray to send him some more money as he longs to buy some Greek books, not only because he is anxious to study this tongue, but because he wishes to translate into Latin some Greek work, to the glory of his patron. This, it seems, Gray did; at all events Free was able to secure a copy of one of the minor works of Synesius of Cyrene²⁶ and make from it his version, *De Laudibus Calvitiæ*, which was afterwards (in 1549) translated into English by Abraham Fleming under the title *A Paradoxe proving by reason and example that Baldness is much better than Bushie Haire*. By this time, however, Tiptoft had arrived in Ferrara, and Free promptly changed patrons. Tiptoft, the rich and influential Earl of Worcester, was on the spot and accessible, his fame was already prodigious; he had shown himself ready and willing to help less fortunate scholars—from every point of view Tiptoft was an ideal patron. Free had no compunction in diverting his translation, begun as a compliment to Gray,

to serve as a bid to gain Tiptoft's favour. He wrote a long and interesting preface, recently printed,²⁷ which is the most important primary authority for the facts of Tiptoft's career. One of Guarino's disciples, Ognibene da Lonigo, contributed a pleasant little foreword, complimenting Free upon his achievement, commending his scholarship and industry, and sending an affectionate message to Tiptoft. This was the beginning of a close friendship between the two Englishmen, for Free attached himself to Tiptoft's household and probably went with him to Padua and Rome and perhaps also to Florence.

Count R. Weiss has lately recognized some lecture notes on legal subjects written by John Free in part of MS. Cotton Julius F. VII at the British Museum. These appear to be taken from the lectures of either Gabriele Capodilista or his brother Francesco: no doubt while Free was studying in Padua. This manuscript belonged to William of Wyrcester, who wrote a large part of it; it consists of many miscellaneous items and is generally known as 'William of Wyrcester's note-book'. It seems that Wyrcester acquired some of Free's books; Leland tells us that John Gunthorp came into possession of part of Free's library, no doubt when he died at Rome in 1464, and Gunthorp perhaps passed them on to William of Wyrcester.

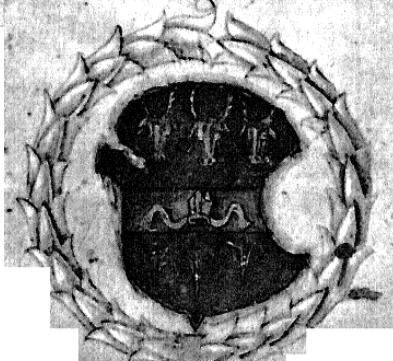
IV

While John Free was in Ferrara, but probably before Tiptoft arrived, the new Pope, Pius II, passed through the city on his way to the Congress of Mantua. Calixtus III died 6 August 1458, and was succeeded a month later by the renowned humanist Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who took the title of Pius II. Within a week or two of his election the Pope decided to hold a congress at Mantua, where all



NISSIME. PRÍCEPs

qui in libroz interpretatione pri
ma ignii sui pacula faciunt eos
libros latino sermone absoluere
qui minus in se difficultatis hñt.
Deñi cum die ipo tñm freqñt exer
citatione ingenij uires dicendiq; fa
cultas adaucta. hñt: ad altiora ma
ioraq; se ñe quertere Nol ipo & si no
nullis pñuali rationibus quas hñc
proterre libz conuersum ordinè
ad doctrinam. magis vindicere ar



the princes of western Europe might meet to decide upon the steps that should be taken to recover Byzantium from the Turks and to prevent them from spreading all across eastern Europe. Pius II saw himself as another Peter the Hermit and thought that he could by his eloquence induce the princes to forget their quarrels and to undertake a new crusade.

The summons was issued in October for the following June; it was sent to all states and countries in western Europe. In England Henry VI was vexed and preoccupied with civil war, but he responded to the appeal after some delay by nominating Tiptoft, the Bishop of Worcester, the Abbot of Peterborough, Lord Dudley, Sir Philip Wentworth and several others to be his representatives. A warrant for the payment of their expenses was issued to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer, dated 25 July 1459, and 'to oure saide cousin th' Erle of Worcestre, daily wages of v marcs for a moneth'.²⁸ A safe-conduct for the other ambassadors was arranged by the Papal Legate, Francesco Coppini, Bishop of Terni, who had been despatched to England for the express purpose of making sure that an embassy would be sent. This Coppini was persuasive and eloquent; Whetamstede said that his words seemed to drop from his lips like dew; he was, nevertheless, a rogue, collecting for himself large sums of money from the English Church. He identified himself with the Yorkist cause and freely excommunicated the Lancastrians.²⁹

At the end of January 1459 Pius II set out from Rome on his leisurely progress to Mantua. He passed through Perugia, where 'although winter raged fiercely, the city was as gay as if spring had come',³⁰ and thence to his own city of Siena. A few weeks later he reached Florence and passed on through Bologna to Ferrara, where he arrived 16 May. He spent his first night in the monastery of S. Antonio and was afterwards lodged in the Este palace. Borso did everything in his

power to provide gaiety and entertainment. Pius had with him Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the seventeen-year-old son of the Duke of Milan, and a number of prelates and nobles, who were shown hospitality by the Ferrarese nobles. Pius II took the opportunity to receive and converse with Guarino and his friend Giovanni Aurispa.³¹

Three days after their arrival, Pope, Cardinals, and ambassadors attended Vespers in the Cathedral, and Girolamo Castiglione made a notable oration in praise of the Pope. Shows, feasting, conversation, and pageants representing pagan deities filled the days and nights until 25 May, when Pius was carried on board Borso's sumptuous barge and floated up the River Po to Mantua, where he was welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm. So far, scarcely any ambassadors had arrived, and those that did come to Mantua during the first months of the conference were few and unimportant. The Pope again sent out urgent letters to the Christian princes exhorting them to attend. In August 1459 the Milanese ambassador wrote to Francesco Sforza that the Breton and English embassies were expected shortly;³² however, only two English priests presented themselves, while a few representatives from France and Germany put in an appearance some weeks later.

Pius II had never held a high opinion of King Henry VI; he once described him as 'more timid than a woman'. When these priests offered their credentials, which bore the customary endorsement 'Teste Rege', he jumped to the conclusion that Henry had been deserted by all his officials and had been obliged to act as his own witness in their absence. Pius also deplored the base lineage of the English representatives and considered that a slight had been put upon the Papacy.³³ There seems no good reason why Tiptoft at least should not have attended the Congress, for he was close by in Padua or

Ferrara. Possibly he was waiting for his fellow ambassadors, or the letter of appointment—and ‘daily wages of v marcs’—may have gone astray. Lord Dudley could not possibly have gone, for he had been taken prisoner at the battle of Blore Heath in September 1459.

Despite the Pope’s brave efforts, the Congress was a failure; only lukewarm enthusiasm could be raised for a crusade when all the countries concerned were faced with serious internal problems that seemed to them far more pressing and immediate. Pius II was obliged to admit failure, and saw that the gallant stand that he had made had been in vain; although he never relinquished his idea, he was a tired and disappointed man when he left Mantua and began his journey back to Rome.

CHAPTER V

TRAVELS IN ITALY

‘You are now under the chiefest clime of wisdom, fair Italy, the darling of nature, the nurse of policy, the theatre of virtue. But though Italy give milk to Virtue with one dug, she often suffers Vice to suck at the other; therefore you must take heed you mistake not the dug.’

JAMES HOWELL: *Familiar Letters*.

I

It seems clear that Tiptoft paid only a short visit to Ferrara, for he was back in Padua by January 1460, as we learn from a letter that he wrote to Oxford University from there, apparently at this time. He almost certainly found time to go on to Florence from Ferrara, for he gave the bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci an order for a manuscript (see Chapter XI) that he afterwards presented to an English friend in Padua. This present was given on 19 September 1460, and Carbone makes it quite clear that Tiptoft was still there in December. The visit to Guarino can have been little more than an interlude.

Presumably Tiptoft studied Arts at Padua, but no trace of him has been found in that or any other faculty. When a candidate sought academic honours, he applied to the head of his University, and was admitted first to the *privatus* or *rigorosus* examination and then to the less strict *publicum examen*. Fellow scholars and friends were allowed to attend the latter; at Padua it was the custom to write down the names of these witnesses as well as those of the candidate’s *promotores*

or doctors whose disciple he had been : this makes the Paduan records very informative, much more so than those at Bologna, where only the candidate's name and nation are recorded.

Unfortunately, the books in the Curia Vescovile,¹ where these records are kept, have suffered damage from fire and water ; a number of pages and at least one volume have been lost, so that the records are confused and there is a gap from the year 1458 to 1461, just covering the time of Tiptoft's residence in Padua. By a tiresome coincidence, the records of examinations in the University of Artists, kept in the Biblioteca Universitaria,² are also incomplete for the middle years of the century, so there are no means of finding out whether Tiptoft proceeded to a degree, nor is any mention of him found as a witness.

From 1460-61 an Englishman was Rector of the Jurist University ;³ this was Peter Courtenay, Archdeacon of Exeter, of the family of the Earl of Devon. He was a friend of Tiptoft, and the latter at this time gave him the handsome copy of Sallust that he had ordered from Vespasiano's shop. Courtenay was present in his official capacity at the *doctoratus* of another Englishman, John Lee, on 22 March 1461.⁴ On this occasion 'Master Joh. Fre' was present, so it is possible that Free left Ferrara with his new friend Tiptoft, and stayed on at Padua to study medicine, and perhaps to practise as soon as he was qualified. In many ways Free is a forerunner of Thomas Linacre, with his dual interest in humanism and medicine, and his adaptability and versatile habit of mind.

That Tiptoft was still in Padua early in 1461 is proved by a letter written to Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici at Florence by his factor Alessandro Martelli. The letter is dated from Venice, 3 January 1461 ; in it he assures Giovanni that he has delivered all the letters entrusted to him, including the one addressed to 'il conte Giovanni inglese'.⁵ He adds that this

Conte Giovanni is still in Padua, awaiting news of the situation in England, and that he seems inclined to stay on in Italy rather than to commit himself to either party by arriving home while civil war is raging. There can be no doubt that this letter refers to Tiptoft; Roberto Sanseverino generally refers to him in this way, and there was no other Englishman at Padua at the time who could possibly correspond to this description.

We are on less sure ground in guessing at the contents of Giovanni's letter, but as Tiptoft soon after receiving it left Padua and went to Florence, taking with him his 'great store' of books, it is only reasonable to suppose that Cosimo's son sent an invitation to the distinguished foreigner, suggesting that he might care to re-visit Florence and to meet some of the chief humanists and artists who thronged that city.

II

Vespasiano tells us that Tiptoft had already heard of the fame of Argiropulo before coming to Florence. Guarino and Aurispa were excellent Greek scholars, and one of them may have advised Tiptoft to hear Argiropulo, who was without doubt the greatest Greek teacher in Italy at this time. He had visited England a few years earlier, in 1455-56,⁶ when Henry VI gave him a grant of ten pounds, and Tiptoft may have met Argiropulo then. In Cosimo de' Medici the Greek found a friend and protector, and he made his home in Florence for fifteen years. His lectures were lively and provocative; it amused him to shock his contemporaries by making some startling declaration, for instance that Cicero knew nothing of either Greek or philosophy.⁷ While Cosimo lived, Argiropulo never lacked friends and admirers, but after his death the Greek left Florence for Rome, where, like

Callisto, he grew very poor, and finally had to sell his books in order to live.

Tiptoft determined to hear him lecture at the first opportunity. Within a few days of his arrival in Florence, clad in sober clothes and unattended by any servant or friend, Tiptoft made his way to the room where Argiropulo lectured in the mornings to a crowd of eager students. Tiptoft listened with great interest, and 'the teaching gave him great satisfaction';⁸ then he quietly left the room without revealing his identity.

In Florence Tiptoft was particularly anxious not to be recognized as a foreigner and a nobleman; he was not at any time fond of pomp or a display of wealth, and while he stayed there he used to wander about the city entirely alone, exploring even the meanest streets and alleys, and seeing all that was to be seen in every quarter. Sometimes he would walk at random, turning first left, then right, and then to the left again, until he came to the city boundary. In this quality he differed from some of his contemporaries, Bishop Gray, for example, who took with him a large and magnificent household wherever he went. While he was studying at Cologne⁹ the fame of Gray's wealth was spread so far abroad that he was afraid to leave the city, for fear of the robber barons who were watching for him and preparing to ambush him upon the road. In the end he had to resort to a trick, stealing away with only one companion, disguised as an Irish pilgrim, while his physician continued to call at his lodging for some days after Gray's departure, giving out gloomy bulletins about his health. 'By this prudent stratagem', says Vespasiano, 'he escaped peril.'

Vespasiano da Bisticci was something more than an ordinary bookseller, for he was the trusted friend and adviser of princes and scholars, of whom he has left an invaluable gallery of

portraits in his *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*. He helped to select as well as to produce the books in nearly all the finest libraries of his generation: his position was unique, no other bookseller could be compared with him. At his disposal he had a staff of trained copyists who were scholars as well as skilled craftsmen, many of whom could write Greek, and he attracted to his workshop scribes and miniaturists from all countries. Rubricators, illuminators, miniature-painters, sewers and binders all worked beneath his roof and under his eye; the standard of work was extraordinarily high. Work could be done when necessary at great speed; on a special occasion it was possible to turn out as many as two hundred MSS. for one patron in twenty-two months.

In his day—he died as a very old man in 1498¹⁰—Vespasiano was often consulted by scholars about the elucidation of knotty passages and disputed readings; although he never laid claim to any high degree of scholarship, he was a very fair critic with ripe experience and sound judgment. When Sozomeno wrote a chronicle of the world from the Creation to 1455, in eighty books, ‘he made no arrangements to have it copied, but by my persuasion and encouragement he allowed it to be done, and the book quickly attracted great notice so that it was sent to all parts of Italy, to Catalonia, Spain, France, England and Rome’.¹¹

Before the days of printing, the author was his own publisher; he would generally send a copy of his work as a present to some influential friend, or scholar of high repute, with a dedicatory epistle hinting at the reward he expected. The recipient would lend the book to his friends and discuss it with them, passing on the criticisms to the author, who would then revise his work, have it copied, and send it to those who were interested. Each of these copies would breed others and so the circulation grew. The idea of royalties was

unknown, and the author was entirely dependent upon the generosity of his friends and patrons.

With the invention of printing, the necessity for personal supervision over each copy came to an end, and the printer-publisher made his appearance. On this new art Vespasiano poured scorn. In his description of the ideal library, that of Federigo da Montefeltro at Urbino, he declared that every book was written with the pen; 'had there been one printed volume it would have been ashamed in such company'. It is easy to point out that Vespasiano failed to grasp the inestimable value of printing in the standard of accuracy that it made possible, and in its reduction by about four-fifths of the cost of production, but he must not be too harshly judged. He had all an artist's horror of what he believes to be inferior work, and a craftsman's distrust of mass-production. Nor was he alone in his dislike of the printing-press; the best professional copyists of his generation, seeing their livelihood slipping from them, bitterly resented the innovation, and it was as late as 1492 that Trithemius composed his treatise *In Praise of Scribes*.

To Vespasiano, Federigo's was the perfect library. All the works of each author were there; the Greeks, the Romans and the moderns, and there were no duplicates. There was not a single imperfect folio. Every volume was bound in crimson and silver, with silver clasps, except the Bible, which was finished in gold brocade. It is doubtful whether the Duke himself loved his library more than did Vespasiano, who compared it with all the other great libraries of the time and found none that was its equal. He had in his possession catalogues of the Papal library, of San Marco, of Pavia, and even of the 'studio ossonense', which he had procured from England. It is pleasant to find Duke Humphrey's library at Oxford classed with those of the Vatican and Florence; most

probably Vespasiano obtained this catalogue from Tiptoft, who perhaps wrote home for it, or he may have sent it after his return to England, in acknowledgment of the books despatched to him from Florence. Such an act would be in keeping with his character; however busy Tiptoft might be, he could always find time for these small attentions and services which won him the devotion of his humble friends.

III

At this time the great Cosimo de' Medici, 'Pater Patriae', was the first citizen of Florence. He was not one of Vespasiano's most open-handed patrons, but he and his sons showed a rare taste and discrimination in the books they chose, and the delicate though simple schemes of ornament that they preferred. Giovanni di Cosimo was particularly fond of the scribe Gherardo del Ciriagio, a Florentine notary working for Vespasiano, who wrote an exquisite hand. Ciriagio must have been employed almost continuously from 1456 to 1463 on Giovanni's work, writing out for him works of Virgil, Ovid, Catullus, Lactantius, Juvenal, Persius and others. Before this, in 1447, he had written some works of Cicero for William Gray.¹²

There was nothing ostentatious about Cosimo de' Medici; he never allowed his sons to forget their origin and gave them both a sound business training. The elder, Piero, had miserable health, and Cosimo relied upon the intelligence and ability of his younger son to help Piero retain his position after their father's death. They were a happy and united family; from the time when the boys were sent to work in the bank at Ferrara, when Giovanni was only fourteen, both father and mother wrote to them delightfully human letters. 'This week has seemed to me like a year', writes Contessina

de' Medici to her favourite, Giovanni, when he has gone to Rome, and if she does in his early days sometimes have to admonish him and ask him to spend 'at least a little time in the bank', she begs him to take care of himself and of Piero, urges them to change their shirts when cold weather comes, and sends Giovanni 'a jar of excellent raisins'.¹³

There are many domestic touches in these letters which show the simple homeliness of Contessina and her love for her two sons. She offers Giovanni a pig or a roe for Christmas, is vexed because his shoemaker has sent home black shoes instead of coloured, asks him to search her cupboard for a missing pair of scissors, and tells him with pride that his little son has cut two teeth. When Giovanni has to go to Petriolo to take the baths for his health, Cosimo writes anxiously 'we have heard nothing [of] how the baths agree with thee; we should be glad to have news often from thee . . . be careful to take thy baths properly, so that they may be beneficial'. Clearly, Giovanni was a poor correspondent, for his mother complains, 'I have written thee several letters, but have had only one from thee'.

There are two charming portrait-busts of Piero and Giovanni in the Museo Nazionale at Florence, by Mino da Fiesole. Piero's is a sensitive face, lacking the genial intelligence and wit shown in Giovanni's ugly but attractive features. Giovanni was a man of keen humour and delightful manners, a friend of the leading humanists but always ready to mix on level terms with poor and undistinguished scholars. Like Tiptoft he was no snob. He sent presents of new books even to his political enemies,¹⁴ and when a stranger wrote and asked to borrow one of his MSS. for a month, wishing to copy it because his own edition lacked the first six books, it was sent off to the unknown scholar with a charming letter.¹⁵ Giovanni was a good business man too, and he was deeply

interested in contemporary politics ; despite his poor health he undertook several important missions on behalf of the Republic.

Giovanni was six or seven years older than Tiptoft, for he was born in 1421. When Tiptoft came to Florence early in 1461, Giovanni was suffering severely from the catarrh or chest trouble which hampered him all his life and from which he died only two years later. He was grieving, too, over the death of his only child, a little boy, named Cosimino after his grandfather. Yet, even in this dark year, Giovanni never wholly lost his buoyant spirits ; everyone who came in contact with him speaks of his gaiety and charm. When Giovanni died, in 1463, Cosimo had innumerable letters of condolence from all parts and from all classes. He himself was broken-hearted, and was heard to mutter to himself that it was no good staying on in the old house, for it was too large now for so small a family.¹⁶

Giovanni had built himself a pleasant villa at Fiesole, designed by Michelozzo Michelozzi, and he filled it with graceful examples of ancient and contemporary art. The tapestries were specially made for him in Antwerp,¹⁷ and his agents in various cities had orders to secure for him classical remains and rare musical instruments for his collection. Leon Battista Alberti, most versatile of all humanists, and the delightful Giannozzo Manetti¹⁸ were among his closest friends ; the villa at Fiesole was open to all who cared to come, a love of letters and of beauty was the only passport needed.

It is impossible to believe that Tiptoft did not see anything of Cosimo's sons while he was staying in Florence, particularly as Giovanni had taken the trouble to write to him before he came. We have it on good authority that he was 'greatly honoured' by the chief citizens ; this surely means that he was a visitor at Fiesole, where Giovanni and his wife Ginevra

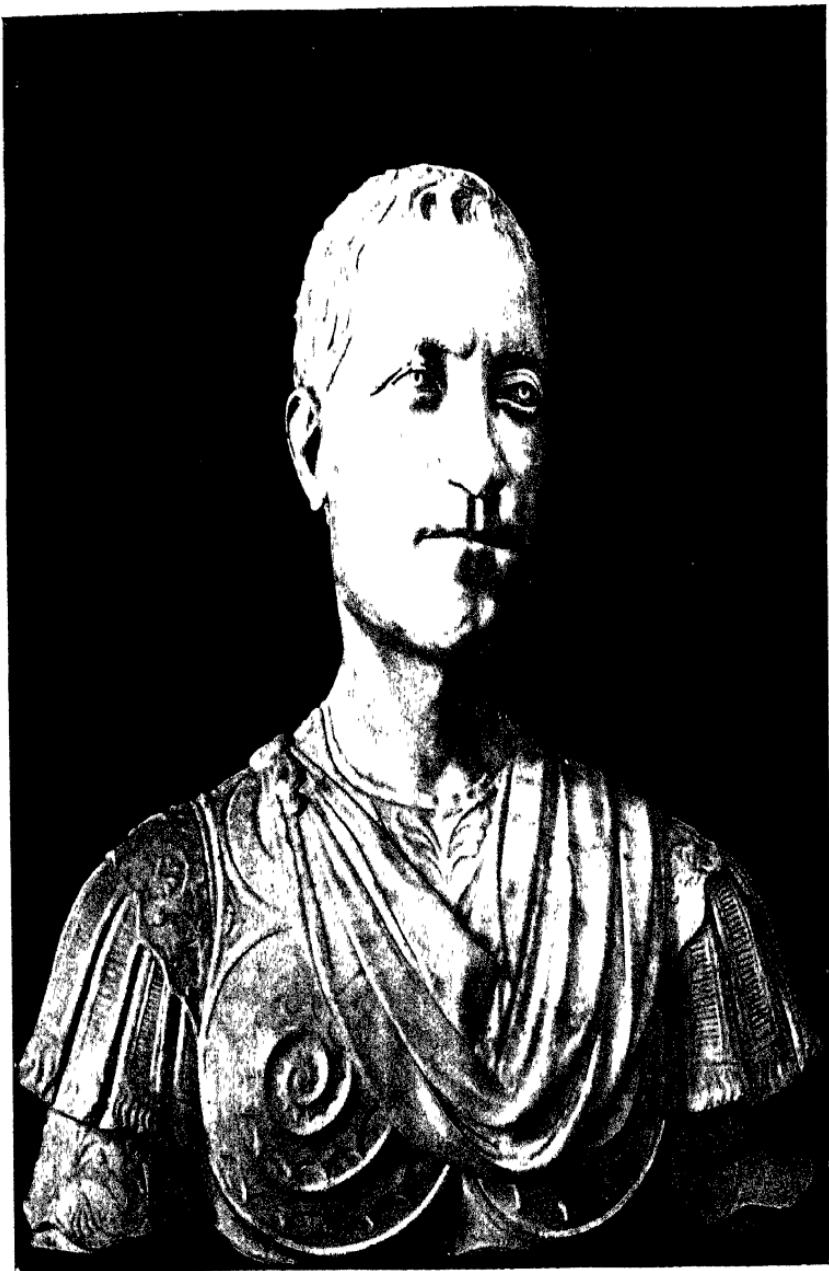


Photo : Alinari

BUST OF GIOVANNI DE 'MEDICI

had a ready welcome for all who shared their bookish tastes. Giovanni left Florence at the end of April 1461 for further treatment at Petriolo; it is not impossible that Tiptoft also left at this time, on his way to Rome.

IV

Either while he was in Florence or after he had gone to Rome, Tiptoft accepted the dedication of a translation from the Greek, undertaken for him by Francesco Aretino. No doubt Tiptoft rewarded him generously, for in his dedicatory epistle Francesco expresses his willingness, and indeed anxiety, to undertake any further commissions. In a letter to his friend Francesco Pellato of Padua, an acute civil lawyer in the service of Alfonso of Aragon, Francesco refers to Tiptoft as 'liberalissimus',¹⁹ so he was evidently satisfied with his treatment. The translation was a Latin version of Lucian, *De Calumnia*, which the translator thought a very suitable subject for one who was obliged to spend his life 'in principum aulis & in causis agendis judiciis'. Francesco Aretino was fulfilling the promise he had made Tiptoft eighteen months earlier when he was translating Chrysostom on St. John the Evangelist for Cosimo de' Medici,²⁰ and expressed a hope that in the near future he would be given the opportunity of translating something more important ('aliquid fortasse dignius') in Tiptoft's name. Francesco says he is well aware that Tiptoft is preoccupied with political affairs, but he hopes that he will be able to spare a few thoughts for his Francesco. This rather suggests that Tiptoft had returned to England before the work was finished.

Francesco Aretino was for many years identified with Francesco Accolti of Arezzo (1416-88), a famous jurist who lectured at Ferrara and Siena in the middle years of the

fifteenth century, but it is far more likely that he was a contemporary humanist from the same city, Francesco Griffolini.²¹ He enjoyed a great reputation as a scholar, particularly in Florence, and he was certainly well-read in Greek literature and an industrious translator, although Erasmus was able to note a number of errors in his work.²²

Griffolini accompanied Pius II on his journey to Mantua by way of Florence in 1459, and it is possible that he stayed on in Florence when the Pope left, and he perhaps met Tiptoft there, for he seems to have known his patron personally. At any rate he was in Florence in 1462, for he wrote to Cosimo de' Medici in November from there, making an oblique reference to the *Chrysostom*, and asking for Cosimo's help in arranging his sister's marriage.²³

V

Two months before he was appointed Ambassador to the Congress of Mantua, Tiptoft had been sent a commission to carry the King's obedience and congratulations to Pope Pius II on his accession.²⁴ Tiptoft and Robert Flemmyng had been members of the former embassy; both were again appointed, and in place of Sir Philip Wentworth, the lawyer Henry Sharp²⁵ and Richard Bole. Bole was for some years Bishop Gray's secretary, and he wrote for him some of the MSS. which Gray gave to Balliol. As his fortunes improved—he became successively a Canon of Southwell, a Prebendary of London, and Archdeacon of Ely—Bole was able to buy manuscripts for his own use, and he demonstrated that he shared the neo-classical tastes of his generation by selecting works of Cicero and Sallust, and humanistic works by Poggio and Leonardo Bruni. The Sallust, *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*,²⁶ he wrote out in his own hand in 1460; most of the others were

written for him by Gray's scribe Theodoric Nicolas Werken of Abbenbroeck.

At last, in the late spring or early summer of 1461, Tiptoft was ready to fulfil his mission, and set out on his journey to Rome. Probably Bole was with him; Henry Sharp and Robert Flemmyng may have been in Rome already. It seems that John Free was with Tiptoft in Rome; probably he came straight from Padua to join him there. As soon as he had arrived, Tiptoft sought an audience with the Pope, and no doubt he prepared and rehearsed the oration he intended to make.

As Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini the Pope had been young and gay and enterprising; he had written an indiscreet novel, and his lively pen had been at the service of anyone who could offer him congenial employment. But as Pius II he had put away worldly conceits, to the consternation and confusion of his humanistic friends who had expected that he would turn the Papal court into a paradise for scholars and artists, and who hailed him as a 'rising sun, dispersing the mists of darkness'. He did, indeed, befriend poor scholars, who found in him a generous patron, and during his pontificate attracted to Rome the best minds and the ablest craftsmen to be found in Italy, and many noted foreigners as well, but they were attracted rather by the Pope himself than by the rewards he gave. Instead of turning, as had been expected, a blind eye upon indecorous behaviour, Pius II would have none of it. Indeed, he wrote a sternly reproving letter to the young Cardinal Borgia, afterwards Pope Alexander VI, reproaching him for his scandalous behaviour at Siena. 'We leave it to you to judge', he wrote, 'if it becomes your station to toy with girls, to pelt them with fruits, to hand to her you favour the cup which you have sipped, and, neglecting study, to spend the whole day in every kind of pleasure,

having shut out husbands that you might do all this with greater freedom. . . .²⁷

The quality of style which had so distinguished Aeneas Sylvius, the eloquence and the great charm of manner, continued to be the chief characteristics of Pius II, for they were the essential part of his nature. His *Commentarii* reveal him as a man of sensitive feeling, of delicacy, wit, and discrimination; he was an artist to his finger-tips. Crudity and rough manners were abhorrent to him; on more than one occasion he complained of the boorish and uncouth behaviour of the German princes, and quiet good manners were to him the index to a man's integrity. He was generously appreciative of good scholarship, patient work, and clever craftsmanship; anything slovenly or inept he would not tolerate. It is typical of Pius II that when he wished to burn in effigy his enemy Gismondo Malatesta, he went to the trouble and expense of engaging Paolo Romano, the best architectural sculptor in Rome, to make the effigy.

It was an ordeal which would have alarmed most ambassadors, however confident, to deliver an oration before such a Pope, but Tiptoft rose bravely to the occasion. His speech was so brilliant, so witty, and so elegantly expressed, that it drew tears from the eyes of Pius II and profoundly impressed the whole College of Cardinals. Everyone was astonished to hear such eloquence and such polished diction from the lips of an Englishman, for all the Italians who heard it had believed England to be the home of barbarism and 'indoctae literae'.²⁸ Pius II, overcome with emotion, praised Tiptoft's oration in words preserved for us by John Free, who was present on this great occasion. 'You alone,' exclaimed the Pope, 'of all princes of this age, are worthy to be compared in "virtù" and eloquence with the greatest Emperors of Greece and Rome.'²⁹ Even after due allowance

is made for the language of humanism, with its polite and elegant exaggeration, this remains a remarkable tribute, and the impression made by the Pope's words was profound. 'What worship had he at Rome', says Caxton of Tiptoft, 'in the presence of our holy fader the Pope!' ³⁰

While he was in Rome, it seems that Tiptoft took the opportunity to ask a favour from the Pope on behalf of his friends the Canterbury monks. Charmed by Tiptoft's eloquence, Pius II could deny him nothing, and he conceded to the Christ Church monks that every year upon the feast of St. Thomas, and once in fifty years for a whole year, plenary indulgence should be granted to all pilgrims visiting the shrine of St. Thomas. The monks were anxious to increase the already great popularity of the Canterbury pilgrimage, and to reduce the number of those who went to Walsingham and other places instead. As a matter of fact, this hoped-for concession did not take effect, but that was not Tiptoft's fault, and the monks expressed their gratitude to him for his successful pleading, and set aside 200 marks for his expenses.³¹ In the Canterbury Necrology his obit is recorded, and he is described as 'of good and famous memory, a man most learned in all the liberal arts, and skilled in the knowledge of letters both sacred and secular',³² and prayers are promised for his soul.

Vespasiano tells us that Tiptoft explored the whole city of Rome and made the acquaintance of many of the Cardinals and prelates there. Most Englishmen who went to Rome in the fifteenth century joined the confraternity of S. Spirito in Sassia; often they would visit this church and write in the book not only their own names, but those of their friends and members of their families for whom they desired special prayers, and would make a suitable offering to the funds.³³ Unfortunately, the records for the middle years of the century

are missing, so, unless they are found, we shall never know if Tiptoft followed this conventional course.

Rome in those days was a city of ruins, though many of the buildings still had their marble incrusted and ornaments where to-day only the gaunt skeleton remains. Columns were overgrown with vegetation, and inscriptions thickly covered with moss, but the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian still had their original pillars and were faced with their original marble. Early in his pontificate, Pius II issued a Bull designed to protect ancient monuments, and he was horrified to see blocks of stone being excavated from the Via Appia to build a house, but the indifference of his predecessors had allowed much damage to be done already. In 1441 Alberto de' Alberti had dated his letter to Giovanni de' Medici from 'the Ruined City', or 'Rome in ruins'; in it he wrote: 'There are many splendid palaces, houses, tombs and temples, and other edifices in infinite number, but all are in ruins . . . every day these marbles are destroyed by being burnt for lime in scandalous fashion. What is modern is poor stuff, that is to say, the buildings; the beauty of Rome lies in what is in ruin. The men of the present day, who call themselves Romans, are very different in bearing and conduct from the ancient inhabitants. *Breviter loquendo*, they all look like cow-herds. Their women are generally handsome in face; all the rest is uncommonly dirty. . . .'³⁴

Biondo Flavio of Forli, Bishop Bekynton's friend, was one of the most passionate antiquarians of his day, and, like Poggio, an industrious collector of inscriptions. Bishop Gray bought a copy of his *Italia illustrata* for Balliol;³⁵ his later work, *Roma triumphans*, was appropriately dedicated to Pius II. For the time being, there was a lively enthusiasm for antiquities; this enthusiasm was centred in the papal court, for no one was more zealous than Pius himself in tracing out

the lines of old aqueducts and ancient roads, and reading scarcely decipherable inscriptions ; even on his way to Mantua he insisted on turning aside to visit the villa on the Mincio supposed to have belonged to Virgil.

Such was Rome in the time of Pius II ; such was the city in which Tiptoft wandered and whence he drew his inspiration. At last the time came when he could stay no longer. Vespasiano tells us that 'many noblemen, and the King as well,' wrote to him begging him to return to England, and he quitted Rome and made his way once more to Florence, where he bought more books and waited for several days while others he had ordered were being finished. Some nine or ten months before he left Italy, in October 1460, a safe-conduct had been issued to Tiptoft and his retinue,³⁶ but he did not use it until the late summer of 1461, when he arrived in England, reaching Canterbury on the first of September.³⁷

CHAPTER VI

LORD CONSTABLE AND TREASURER

‘... perchè egli aveva fatta una legge ch’ era contro al popolo, la quale l’ aveva portata d’ Italia, che si chiamava la legge di Padova; per questo . . . tutti gridavano che morisse, perch’ egli aveva fatta la legge di Padova.’

VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI: *Vite di uomini illustri.*

I

WHILE Tiptoft was winning for himself the admiration of princes and scholars in Italy, his kinsman Edward IV had fought his way to the English throne. In his cagerness to avenge his father, Richard Duke of York, who had been killed at Wakefield on the last day of 1460, Edward threw all his energies into the struggle, and after winning a swift victory at Mortimer’s Cross in February, he put the issue beyond doubt at the Battle of Towton, a bloody battle fought in bitter weather and against heavy odds, and with Warwick’s help had secured the Crown. 1460-61 had been a terrible year; it had rained incessantly all through the summer, floods had caused great damage to crops, and neither grain nor fruit had been able to mature, so that famine was threatened. In the winter snow and hail had added to the miseries of civil war, and the country was exhausted and anxious only for peace.

Violence and cruelty were everyday matters; when Margaret of Anjou marched with her army southwards from Wakefield, she allowed her men to pillage abbeys and churches

by the way 'as they had been Paynims or Saracens and no Christian men',¹ thereby scandalizing contemporary opinion and rousing opposition where before there had been passive acquiescence. The nobles were still more violent and savage than their followers, and took the opportunity to settle old scores and to avenge personal insults. Hall in his *Chronicle*² has a grim story of the murder of Edward's brother, the seventeen-year-old Earl of Rutland ('a fair gentleman and a maiden-like person'), who was slain by Lord Clifford, who said as he thrust his dagger into the Earl's heart: 'By God's blood, thy father slew mine, and so will I do to thee and all thy kin', and then bade his chaplain bear word to the Earl's mother what he had done and said.

Sir John Fortescue³ saw in the 'over-mighty subject', the too-powerful noble with his band of retainers, the greatest menace to the Crown; he remarks in his sensible way 'ther may no grettir perell growe to a prince, than to have a subgett equepolent to hym selff'. The King had become so greatly impoverished by the grants of land and offices that he had been obliged to make to his supporters, that he was no longer master in his own house. At each crisis in his career Henry VI had stripped the Crown of some of its resources, and Edward IV was compelled to follow the same course. The great lords were all-powerful locally through their wealth, their estates, and their patronage, as well as through personal influence. Engrossing of patronage meant the end of impartial justice and immunity for the offender who could shelter behind some great name. It was one of the charges brought against Suffolk when he was impeached in 1450 that he had made his own partisans sheriffs and so acquired an unfair influence.⁴

Bribery and intimidation of juries had paralysed the courts of common law; Justice Paston offered shrewd advice when

he recommended a friend not to go into court against a dependent of the Duke of Norfolk, for 'yf thou do, thou shalte have the wersc, be thy case never so trewe'.⁵ It must not be supposed that this state of affairs suddenly developed midway through the fifteenth century, for, many years earlier, Wyclif had declared that jurors' inquests would wilfully forswear themselves for the price of their dinner and a noble,⁶ and the deplorable condition of English justice was only aggravated, not created, by the weakness of Henry VI. There were times when Edward IV himself interfered with the course of justice, and in the Exchequer accounts of 1481 there is a disgraceful entry relating to the payment of 6s. 8d. to John Wideslade 'for his labour in making a return of a [verdict] which passed with the King in Devonshire against Philip Atwell and other', and of 26s. 8d. to John Tailour 'for part of his reward' in manipulating the same jury.⁷

The unsettled state of the country has perhaps been exaggerated by some writers, for those of the middle classes who kept themselves clear from politics contrived to live comparatively peaceful and even prosperous lives, as did the Pastons and the Stonor and Cely families, but there can be no doubt that the social disorder of the time was used as an excuse and opportunity for every kind of robbery and violence. There were indeed grounds for the complaint that 'all rightwysenesse and justice ys exyled of the londe'.⁸

This was the England to which Tiptoft returned in the early autumn of 1461. At a time when reputations made in a day might easily be lost in an hour, four years' absence meant that his renown had suffered an eclipse. Yet his ability brought him immediately into prominence, and he prepared to take an active part in affairs of State. Tiptoft was one of the most important men in the kingdom, connected as he was with the royal house, and holding large groups of estates in Wales,

the Marches, and East Anglia. His influence in the Welsh Marches perhaps led to his appointment, two months after his arrival, as Chief Justice of North Wales,⁹ a post that several of his ancestors had held before him and which he retained until he resigned it with his other offices on the eve of his departure for Ireland.

When the first Parliament of Edward IV was opened in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, on 4 November 1461, Tiptoft took his seat in the House of Lords although he had not been summoned, for he had been abroad when the writs of summons had been sent out on 23 May. He was a very welcome recruit to the Yorkist cause, and both Edward IV and Warwick greeted him warmly. In the recently discovered fragment of the Lords' Journal for 1461,¹⁰ Tiptoft's importance is made very clear. He and Warwick, with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, receive a deputation from the Commons early in December; the fact that he is specifically mentioned by name proves that the clerk of the Parliament looked upon him as one of the Government leaders. In the same Journal the personnel of three committees is mentioned, and we find Tiptoft a member of two of them, one 'to oversee the bill for the ease of the sheriffs', the other to confer with the Merchants of the Staple.

In the same Parliament Tiptoft was named one of the triers of petitions, and was made a member of the King's Council with a salary of 200 marks. The Chancellor made an admirable speech at the opening of this Parliament on the appropriate text: 'Amend your ways and your doings', and a petition was presented to the new King in which the Commons declared Henry VI to be an 'unrightwise usurper'; all seemed to be set fair for the new reign, and Edward IV had his opportunity to show whether he could restore governance and bring peace to a troubled land.

II

The rejoicings which greeted Edward's coronation had scarcely died away before signs of disaffection appeared in various quarters. Much hardship had been caused by the Act of Resumption, when many of the leading supporters of Henry VI were attainted and lost their lands. Edward IV did not wish to be unduly harsh, and he pardoned certain of the Lancastrian leaders and received them into his favour, but he was a poor judge of character and was not always wise in his choice of associates, as he was soon to find. The year 1461-62 showed no lessening of the crime-wave which passed over fifteenth-century England, and alarming and often fantastic rumours spread through the land. Men were afraid to cultivate their crops, not knowing what might befall, and instead of sowing and reaping they built great beacons on the coast and on hill-tops to warn their fellows of what they knew not what. In January 1462 Margaret Paston wrote to her husband that she had never heard of so much robbery and manslaughter 'as is now within a little time'.¹¹ Everyone knew that at any moment Henry VI and his tigress wife might land in the north, in Ireland, or in the west country, with Scottish or French reinforcements, and that there were few among Edward's supporters upon whose loyalty he could safely rely. If there should be treachery in Edward's own camp, the ordinary process of law would be of little use, for it was clumsy and slow, while in checking incipient rebellion time was everything. Some new and rapid form of procedure was needed, and in the court of the Constable Edward saw his opportunity of setting up a summary tribunal. The jurisdiction of this court had in the Middle Ages always been vague and ill-defined, although some attempt had been

made at the end of the fourteenth century to determine its scope and character. Primarily, the Constable and Marshal's court was concerned with the discipline of the army and in a lesser degree with matters of heraldry, while there were a number of border-line cases which might or might not lie within its scope. In the time of Richard II, in 1399, it was laid down that the court should have 'cognizance of contracts touching deeds of arms and of war out of the realm, and also of things that touch war within the realm, which cannot be determined nor discussed by the common law'. If anyone wished to complain that the cause of action was not cognizable in this court, it was possible for him to get a writ of Privy Seal to stop the proceedings until the question of jurisdiction had been decided. A few years later, in 1399, the Constable was given unlimited jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, over all matters relating to war outside the realm, but within the realm he had jurisdiction only over alien enemies.¹²

Edward IV made up his mind to ignore these statutory limitations, and on 7 February 1462 he appointed Tiptoft Lord High Constable with far wider powers than had ever before been attached to that office. He was to try all cases of treason 'summarily and plainly without noise and show of judgement, on simple inspection of fact'.¹³ Some months earlier Tiptoft had sat with a jury of twenty-four, trying a case at Hounslow in which Sir William Plumpton had been acquitted on a charge of treason;¹⁴ henceforward the accused was to be denied trial by jury, and his life or death would hang upon the opinion or caprice of the Lord Constable.

Five days before Tiptoft's appointment the Earl of Oxford, his eldest son, John Clopton, Sir Thomas Montgomery, and William Tyrell were all arrested in Essex on a charge of 'hyghe and myghty treason that they ymagenyd agayne the Kynge';¹⁵ it is impossible not to suspect that there was close

connection between these two events—the capture of the King's enemies immediately followed by the appointment of his friend and kinsman as their judge. A commission for the arrest of Sir Thomas Tudenharn,¹⁶ Capgrave's patron, had been issued soon after Edward's accession, and he was captured at about the same time as Oxford and found to be implicated in the plot.

There can be little doubt of Oxford's guilt, though there are two different stories of his plot. The first, and more probable, is that he had been making arrangements for the Duke of Somerset, then in Bruges, to land with an army on the Essex coast; the other, more highly coloured tale, is told by William of Wyrcester,¹⁷ and in part corroborated by a letter from the Milanese ambassador to the Legate Coppini.¹⁸ From this account it appears that Oxford and his fellow conspirators were to accompany Edward on his expedition to the north and to fall upon his army from the rear as soon as the Lancastrian forces under Margaret of Anjou came within striking distance in the front. Their messenger, bearing Oxford's letter to Queen Margaret and the King in Scotland, became so conscience stricken while attending Mass near Northampton that he took the letter to Edward IV instead. Edward had the letters copied, so the story runs, and sent them on again by the hand of this messenger, and then seized Oxford before he had time to carry out his plan.

In the circumstances Oxford's execution after a perfunctory trial was a foregone conclusion. He was arraigned before Tiptoft at Westminster, and, while his trial was proceeding, a high scaffold was built upon Tower Hill. The Earl and his son were condemned and executed, while of the other four conspirators only Clopton escaped with his life. An anonymous chronicler says that Oxford's son, Lord Aubrey de Vere, accused his father of treason and turned King's evidence, and

'they were both takin . . . and they suffrid deth bothe on one day',¹⁹ but this is unlikely, and in any case father and son did not die on the same day, for Oxford was executed on 20 February 1462 and Aubrey de Vere six days later. As this chronicler gives the date as 'February 1460'—when Tiptoft was still in Italy, and shortly after the Lancastrian victory of Wakefield—his account may be disregarded. Both father and son were buried in the church of the Augustinian Friars.

Edward IV was in an awkward position, for he could not afford to leave so powerful a traitor at large nor did he wish to be burdened with him as a prisoner. If he had shown clemency on this occasion, he might have succeeded in converting Oxford and his family into faithful subjects, but the risk was very great; as it was, Oxford's younger son John de Vere, the thirteenth earl, became a life-long enemy of Edward's house and ultimately helped to overthrow Richard III at the battle of Bosworth.²⁰ This lad was only nineteen when his father was executed, and he seems to have escaped suspicion, but his mother was imprisoned for some three months after the execution. John de Vere was allowed to inherit his father's lands as soon as he reached his majority, for Oxford had never been attainted, and he succeeded to the earldom without question.

Although violent death was the rule rather than the exception, these executions aroused widespread resentment and indignation. Popular opinion was expressed by Warkworth when he wrote 'thei were brought before the Earle of Worcester, and judged by lawe padowe that thei schuld be had to Toure Hylle . . . and ther was there hedes smyten of, that alle men mygt see, whereof the most peple were sory'.²¹ At first sight it is difficult to see why there should have been an outcry. Only three years earlier nine men had

been hanged, drawn and beheaded, by the order of the Lancastrian party, for attempting to cross the Channel and to join Warwick at Calais,²² and this execution had aroused scarcely any comment. The summary execution of prisoners captured during battle was taken as a matter of course, and after the second battle of St. Albans, when three Yorkist prisoners were beheaded, Margaret of Anjou and her little son the Prince of Wales witnessed the execution with relish. It is hardly surprising that this child, by the time he was thirteen, could talk of 'nothing but of cutting off heads or making war', as the Milanese ambassador in France wrote to the Duke and Duchess of Milan in 1467.

It was not from any horror of bloodshed nor even because Oxford was an influential and popular man; the real reason for the outcry was fear of the Constable and the use he might, and seemed prepared to make, of the dangerous powers entrusted to him. His authority was second only to that of the King, who could not quash his judgments, though he might remove him from office, and there was no appeal from his court. Oxford and his son had not had a public trial, that is, in a court of justice or in Parliament, but had been tried by martial law. Englishmen were quick to recognize the perils of such a violent and unconstitutional means of government, for their wits had been sharpened by adversity. The surprisingly acute and widespread knowledge of law possessed by citizens of this time, by women as well as men, has often been remarked, and it was this very familiarity with the process of the common law that showed them the scope and danger of Edward's innovation.

The odium of the office of Constable easily became transferred to its holder, and it cannot be denied that Tiptoft invited criticism by the liberal spirit in which he interpreted his powers. He was a new and striking actor, clearly cast for

an important part in the drama of York versus Lancaster, and attention was focussed upon him. His was a strong and interesting personality, he had already made his mark in politics, and some hint of the esteem in which he was held abroad must have reached England. He was a scholar of far more than average quality, and he had studied at Padua, where canon and civil (or Roman) law was the principal subject, although he himself had probably studied Arts, and he was newly returned from Italy; all an Englishman's insularity and distrust of 'foreign ways' lay behind the accusation that he had judged Oxford by Paduan law. Tiptoft's speech has not been preserved; it is possible that he made in it some indiscreet or tactless reference to his recent studies; at any rate, the phrase 'by lawe padowe' caught the popular imagination and was quickly taken up and echoed by the apprehensive commons. In his description of the scene at Tiptoft's own execution Vespasiano says that the people crowded round the scaffold and 'they all cried out that he must die, for he had introduced the law of Padua where he used to study'.²³

Tiptoft held the office of Constable for another five years, until 24 August 1467, when he was obliged to make way for Lord Rivers, the father-in-law of Edward IV, whom Edward wished to honour. The patent appointing Lord Rivers²⁴ rehearsed all the powers given to Tiptoft, and in addition the office was granted to him for life with the reversion of it to his son Lord Scales, an alarming development implying practically supreme power. Lord Rivers only held the office for two years, for he was captured and executed by the order of Clarence after the battle of Edgecote in 1469, but during his brief tenure he showed no less energy and no more mercy than his predecessor.

The Tudors did not attempt to use the Constable's court in so flagrantly illegal a manner, although they stretched its

jurisdiction as far as they conveniently could, making the most of the vagueness and obscurity of the law. When Elizabeth wished to proceed by martial law against a fanatic who had attacked Sir John Hawkins, she was told that it was illegal to proceed 'ex jure militari sive castrensi' unless it was a time of real disturbance.²⁵ The court of the Constable was too crude an instrument of tyranny to be of much use to the Tudors, who had other and more delicate means of ridding themselves of suspected persons, and the innovations of Edward IV were allowed to lapse until the seventeenth century, when extensions of the court's jurisdiction were declared by the Petition of Right to be illegal.

III

Even before he returned to England grants of offices and lands were showered upon Tiptoft, in the hope, no doubt, of attaching him firmly to the Yorkist cause. On 10 July 1461 he was made hereditary keeper of the forests of Weybridge and Sapley, in Huntingdon, with all rights over the timber and brushwood except 'reasonable sustenance for the King's deer'.²⁶ At one time, in early Norman days, nearly the whole of Huntingdonshire had been under forest law, but by the time of Henry II the forest land was restricted to the west and north of the county. In the last decade before Tiptoft's appointment, there were extraordinarily few presentments by the foresters at the swainmotes held twice a year at Weybridge; it seems that the supervisor of the forest, one Richard Devyle, fulfilled his office with vigour and success, so that Tiptoft would have no need to interfere with the administration, and could regard his office in the light of a sinecure, as, indeed, it was intended to be, and to save his energies for greater occasions.

The same year, 1460, one William Feny was made to give up the custody of the castle and town of Porchester, which had been granted to him, as the King wished to present it to 'his kinsman, John Earl of Worcester',²⁷ and towards the end of the year Tiptoft was appointed Constable of the Tower of London, with the customary fees, for the term of his life,²⁸ an important and lucrative position; following hard upon his appointment as Chief Justice of North Wales, this shows that Edward IV had already realized the value of Tiptoft's support and was making strenuous bids to win and keep his favour. On 21 March 1462, six weeks after his appointment as Constable, he was awarded still another and a greater honour, for on that day a royal warrant was issued installing Tiptoft and four others Knights of the Garter,²⁹ all five were installed by proxy. These knights included some of Edward's strongest supporters in the brave Sir John Astley, Tiptoft himself and John Neville, who afterwards became Marquis Montagu.

In the spring of 1462 it was rumoured that an embassy would be sent to Rome the following Easter, and the Milanese ambassador wrote to Coppini that he thought the Bishop of Salisbury would be one of the ambassadors, and added, 'Some say that the Earl of Worcester will go. . . . I think it will be so if matters keep well'.³⁰ In the end the idea was dropped; Tiptoft could not be spared—the Constable's duties were too many and too arduous—and, indeed, for the remaining eight years of his life he never had leisure to go to Italy again and was completely occupied with affairs at home and in Ireland.

Soon after his appointment as Constable it was rumoured that Tiptoft was also to be made Lord Treasurer. John Russe wrote to John Paston at this time: 'It is sayd here that my lord Worcestre is lyk to be Tresorer, with whom I truste ye

stonde right wel in conseit, with which God contynwe. . . .³¹ Actually he was appointed 14 April 1462,³² and retained the office until June of the following year; this was the second of his three terms of office as Lord Treasurer. Another of the Pastons' correspondents had occasion to remark on the thoroughness with which the new Treasurer went into details, holding 'old Debenham' to the bargain from which he was trying to withdraw, and sending letters 'to all . . . gentlemen in this contre to helpe hym and assiste hym to vetayle and manne the seide schip [the *Mary Talbot*] and his men is here dayle, and gothe aboght and gathereth whete, malt, money and what so ever any mon woll geve'.³³

Tiptoft's success as a diplomat in the Roman court perhaps led to his appointment as one of the ambassadors to treat with the Lord of the Isles,³⁴ a delicate negotiation needing tact and perseverance. Tiptoft's principal colleague was Lawrence Booth, Bishop of Durham, and together they persuaded the Lord of the Isles, who was also Earl of Ross, to agree that all the inhabitants of Ross and the Isles should become Edward's subjects for all time and be liable for military service. This was to prove a very useful alliance, for most of the Scottish lords were prepared to support the house of Lancaster, and even while the ambassadors were arranging this alliance, which was completed on 17 March 1462, Margaret of Anjou was planning a raid on northern England with Franco-Scottish support. Two years later Tiptoft served on another embassy, this time to Francis Duke of Brittany,³⁵ and, as chief commissioner, he was mainly responsible for engineering a year's truce. These diplomatic successes suggest not only that Tiptoft had inherited his father's gifts, but that he had also his mother's charm of manner, and that he was a master of persuasive methods of securing his own way.

Before he went on his travels Tiptoft had, as we have seen,

• nob ante dñm p̄sentem diem quæstumq; dñb; dñm p̄tremo
• p̄ficiunt dñi iusitius exq; ex p̄fici p̄ficiunt dñi iusitius
• dñi diem forissas coram nob; dñi consilio ipso cancellario
• de dñm p̄sentem diem forissas. Et sumit p̄sonam q; dñi
• Necnon om̄nida p̄sona q; dñi ficeret q; dñi
• in ipso q; emicem dñb; ante p̄dñm p̄ficiunt dñi
• hec dñm vel successor ipso q; dñi ficeret q; dñi

TIPTOFT'S AUTOGRAPH

From the British Museum Add. MSS 18738 (fo. 4)
and 21505 (fo. 2)

won praise for his efforts to sweep the Channel clear of pirates. On the 7 August 1463, some six weeks after he had ceased to be Treasurer, he was again appointed Keeper of the Sea,³⁶ with a special injunction to prevent Queen Margaret from escaping to France—for this was shortly after her defeat in the north. Tiptoft at once reviewed his fleet at Sandwich, and bought a new carvel-built ship for the sum of £133. 6s. 8d. at the King's expense. He made elaborate preparations for a cruise; his first commission was to escort the English ambassadors bound for St. Omer, where they were to meet French and Burgundian representatives, from Sandwich to Calais, and for his expenses on this occasion he was paid £100. It was difficult to know how to counter Queen Margaret's efforts to escape, and Tiptoft made only the most perfunctory attempt to do so, merely cruising along the coast with his fleet and returning to port as soon as the provisions began to run short. In the meantime Margaret had crossed to France at her leisure. The chronicler, William Gregory, laments the expense incurred in this vain attempt to blockade the coast. 'Alle was loste and in vayne', he says, 'and cam to noo purpose, neyther by water ne by lande',³⁷ while the writer of another chronicle goes further still in exclaiming: 'O infelix successus, opprobrium et confusio!'³⁸ Certainly Tiptoft showed little enterprise, but it is very unlikely that he could in any case have prevented Margaret of Anjou and 'the grete rebellyous Harry', as Gregory calls him, from slipping through his defences, however zealous he had been.

This same Gregory, by a slip of the pen, is responsible for associating with Tiptoft's name a charge of discourtesy and lack of tact, which has found its way into the pages of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and thence into certain text-books. The story runs thus: A feast was given by the Serjeants at Law on the occasion of the admission of new

members to the Order of the Coif, and as the banquet was to be held at Ely House, within the precincts of the City of London, it was expected that the Lord Mayor would be the principal guest. But the Lord Treasurer dismayed the whole company by appropriating the seat of honour which should have been reserved for the Lord Mayor, ' . . . and the mayre seynge that hys place was occupyd, . . . went home agayne with owte mete or drynke or ony thonke'.³⁹ The 'offesers of the feste', or stewards, were appalled at what had happened, and they pursued the Mayor with presents of 'mete, brede, wyne, and many dyvers soteltys' in an effort to placate him, and although he would not return to the banquet, he and some of the aldermen had an excellent meal at home. This Lord Mayor was Matthew Philip, a goldsmith, a skilful craftsman who had made the Garter presented to Richard Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III) in 1462. As he was elected 13 October 1463,⁴⁰ and the feast took place the following midsummer, the year must have been 1464, and Tiptoft cannot possibly have been the offender, as he had ceased to be Treasurer twelve months earlier. It is to his successor, Lord Grey of Ruthin,⁴¹ that this charge of rudeness and arrogance should be ascribed: it would in any case be quite out of keeping with Tiptoft's character and manners.

IV

Tiptoft kept up his connection with the Nevilles, his brothers-in-law, and particularly with the scholarly George, who was at first Bishop of Exeter and later translated to York. At his installation as Archbishop, Tiptoft was present at the magnificent installation feast, sitting at the high table at his host's left hand.⁴² It was a grand feast, and showed the wealth and lavishness of the Nevilles as well as their love of dis-

play, and the mighty appetites of their guests. Three hundred tuns of ale they drank, and a hundred tuns of wine and a whole pipe of hippocras. In the kitchen sixty-two cooks made thirteen thousand jellies, tarts and custards, while a hundred and four oxen, three hundred 'veals', three hundred 'porks', a thousand 'muttons' and five hundred stags were slaughtered for this one meal, as well as seals, porpoises and swans, and countless chickens, quails and pigeons. The cook's delight was the creation of an elaborate sweet of pastry on which he could lavish his ingenious fancy; this was known as a 'subtlety' and no banquet was complete without one. At this feast there were many, and among them St. George slaying his dragon of 'marchpane' and Samson wrecking pillars of paste. Never was such lavishness and artistry seen at any banquet!

Neville was more than a gourmet, he was a very capable man of affairs, and he and Tiptoft were often associated in business matters when Neville was Lord Chancellor. They had a common interest in their passion for books; like Tiptoft, George Neville was a generous patron, and he gave employment during the middle years of the century to a Greek scribe named Emmanuel of Constantinople. A Greek MS. written by him for Neville in 1468 is now at Leyden, containing letters of Plato, and the *Sermones iudiciales* of Demosthenes, and other MSS. in Oxford and Cambridge libraries, and a Plato and Aristotle at Durham, were all written by this Emmanuel, presumably for the same patron.⁴³ Nearly all Neville's books are now lost, though there is one fifteenth-century MS. of works of Duns Scotus and the commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* by John Dedeci which he presented to Balliol College,⁴⁴ while the Bodleian has the works of Gregory in the Latin version of Rufinus, with his arms and a mitre on fo. 1.⁴⁵ When Neville was banished to Calais in 1472 England lost one of the most interesting men

of his time, and one who might have done much to introduce humanistic studies to his countrymen.

Warwick's younger brother, John Neville Marquis Montagu, was a very different type of man, keen, ruthless, cruel, and a brilliant tactician. He was the best soldier in Edward's army, but his interest in his own career was greater than his loyalty, and after deserting Henry for Edward and later Edward for Henry, he was killed fighting at Barnet in 1471. This was the man Tiptoft chose to marry his niece,⁴⁶ Isabella Ingoldesthorpe, a considerable heiress to lands in Rutlandshire which marched with Tiptoft's own. Her father had died in 1456, and Tiptoft helped his widowed sister Joanna to straighten out her affairs and to arrange for her daughter's future.

With Warwick himself, Tiptoft took part in the siege of Dunstanborough Castle in Northumberland in the winter of 1462. Edward IV had meant to be there in person, but he developed measles at Durham and had to stay impatiently in his sick-room while his supporters made a determined attack upon the three castles which were held as outposts of the Franco-Scottish force with which Margaret of Anjou intended to invade England. Bamborough was the first of the northern castles to fall, on 26 December, and next day Dunstanborough followed suit. Tiptoft does not seem to have distinguished himself at this siege, unless it was by his rashness in allowing his men to encamp between the castle and the seashore, where they might easily have been overwhelmed by the Scots 'had they been daring and intelligent'.⁴⁷ As it was, the attackers knew that a Scottish force under the Earl of Angus was on its way to the relief of the Castle, but the defenders had no news of this, and perhaps alarmed by Tiptoft's manœuvre and certainly disheartened by the fall of Bamborough, they surrendered just before the reinforcements could arrive.

These two castles were entrusted to Sir Ralph Grey, but

the following year he allowed them to fall into Lancastrian hands, and a few months later he opened the gates of Alnwick to Queen Margaret. This was a great blow to Edward, who had trusted Grey implicitly, and about the same time the Duke of Somerset showed his ingratitude for the favours Edward had heaped upon him by rejoining the Lancastrians. Somerset was recognized at Durham and was nearly caught by Edward's men, but he escaped barefoot and in his shirt and joined Grey at Bamborough. Montagu was sent off post haste, and given a grant of £550 for his expenses, while Edward quickly raised all the money he could at short notice, borrowing 1000 marks from the City of London, a smaller sum from his secretary Hatchlyf, and £100 from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. Montagu soon showed his quality as a general, for on St. Mark's Day 1464, he routed Somerset at Hedgley Moor, and on 15 May he won a still more decisive victory at Hexham. Somerset was captured and at Montagu's orders beheaded, as were five more prisoners two days later. By this time Tiptoft had arrived, in his judicial capacity, and he tried fourteen prisoners at York and sentenced them all to be beheaded: this was on 26 May.

Montagu was rewarded with large estates and the title of Earl of Northumberland, although the rightful heir, Henry Percy, was at that time alive and comparatively well in the Fleet prison.⁴⁸ As soon as his men were rested after their exertions, Montagu set off to recover the northern castles, accompanied by Tiptoft. Alnwick and Dunstanborough surrendered almost at once, but Humphrey Neville and Sir Ralph Grey put up a stubborn defence in Bamborough. A bitter struggle ensued, for the defenders were desperate, and knew they could hope for little mercy, while Montagu brought into the field nearly the whole strength of the King's artillery. The largest of all the guns was called 'Newcastle', and this

and the iron gun 'London' sent the stones of the castle walls flying into the sea, while 'Dysyon' [Dijon], a gun which had belonged to the Duke of Burgundy, 'smote thourouge Sir Rauf Grey's chamber oftentymes'.⁴⁹ Under this violent attack much damage was done to the structure, and defence became increasingly difficult. Sir Ralph Grey was injured by falling masonry, and while he lay unconscious Humphrey Neville bargained that everyone except Grey, whom he believed to be dead, should be pardoned if the castle were surrendered. Montagu and Tiptoft agreed to these terms, and took possession of the fortress and held to their promise of sparing the defenders. But Grey, unfortunately for himself, recovered, and, as he had been granted no mercy, he was taken as a prisoner to Doncaster and there brought to trial before Tiptoft.

From the first it was clear that he would share the fate of all prisoners taken in armed resistance, but Tiptoft showed an unexpected moderation in delivering judgment. A contemporary account⁵⁰ gives the speech he is alleged to have made, pointing out to Sir Ralph Grey that his treachery and betrayal of trust at a critical moment could only be wiped out by his death. Sir Ralph is reminded of the great benefits he has received from the King, and how his guilt 'apperith by the strookes of the great gunnes' in the walls of the King's castle. As a *Knight* of the Bath his punishment should have been to be degraded from the rank of knighthood, to have his spurs 'striken of by the hard heles, with the hand of the maister cooke', and to proceed to his execution bearing his own coat of arms reversed, for this was the traditional procedure, but in consideration for the noble deeds of his grandfather⁵¹ he was spared these indignities. Finally, sentence was pronounced. 'Thou, Sir Rauf Grey, this shal be thy penaunce—thou shalt goo on thy feet unto the townesend,

and there thou shalt be laide downe and drawen to a scaffold made for thee, and that thou shalt have thyne hede smite of thi body, to be buriede in the freres ; thi heede where it pleased the Kyng.'

On the 10 July 1464 Sir Ralph Grey was executed and his head, according to custom, displayed upon London Bridge. So far Tiptoft had in no way exceeded his powers, nor had he shown any savagery or brutality towards his victims. He was simply a strict interpreter of his instructions, and his justice, though stern, was impartial and impersonal. If Tiptoft had been responsible only for the execution of Oxford and his friends, the Lancastrian prisoners at Hexham and Sir Ralph Grey at Doncaster, he would never have won for himself the sinister nickname of the 'Butcher of England'.

CHAPTER VII

THE COURT OF CHIVALRY

‘Very rarely doth any man excel in arms that is utterly ignorant of good letters.’ WILLIAM SEGAR: *The Book of Honor and Armes.*

I

A MONTH or two before the northern rebellion, an unfortunate misunderstanding had very nearly led to war with Scotland. A Scottish carvel was carrying back to Scotland the Bishop of Aberdeen and Alexander Duke of Albany, the brother of King James, who had been visiting his uncle in Guelderland; Edward IV had granted the Duke a safe-conduct, but the carvel was attacked and captured by an English ship named the *Katerine Duras*.¹ This was an infamous breach of faith, and the Scots were justifiably angry; the Bishop and the Duke were at once set at liberty by Edward’s orders, but they would not be appeased, and relations between the two countries became far from cordial. Indeed, it seemed probable that their extreme displeasure would lead the Scots to declare open war, and this they threatened to do.

Tiptoft had already engineered a truce with the Lord of the Isles, and Edward IV after many weeks of fruitless negotiation sent him to make a full inquiry into the whole matter. On 8 July 1464 Tiptoft and his associates began a thorough investigation. It was clear that the master of the barge *Katerine Duras* was at fault² and seriously to blame for this singularly ill-timed breach of diplomatic relations. Much delicacy was needed in persuading the Duke of Albany and

his friends to overlook the offence, but Tiptoft was quite equal to the occasion. By his skilful handling, all differences were happily arranged and all ill-feeling vanished. The Duke went back to Scotland on the best of terms with his late enemies, and the Bishop of Aberdeen graciously consented to accept an annuity from the English King.³ Thanks to Tiptoft's diplomatic skill and powers of persuasion, the incident was forgiven and soon forgotten.

In the forty-three years of his life Tiptoft had to play many parts calling for a great variety of qualities. His was that type of flexible mind much more common in Italy than in England at that time. Versatility was shown by nearly all the humanists, and Tiptoft was one with them in his ability to turn his mind to any practical problem that might arise. Essentially a scholar, he was nothing of a pedant. Although he was perhaps at his best in bookish surroundings, he could mix well with men of all classes, and his diplomatic gifts—of which Edward IV might well have made more use—enabled him to make friends with such purely military types as Warwick and Roberto Sanseverino and to meet them on their own ground as an exponent of knightly behaviour.

II

In addition to his judicial duties as Constable, Tiptoft was by virtue of his official position president of the Court of Chivalry; an office he performed with skill and grace. On various occasions he was called upon to frame ordinances for the Royal Household,⁴ for instance, lists of precedence, rules for the conduct of jousts and tourneys, and procedure at State functions. The two most important of Tiptoft's ordinances that still survive are the *Orders for Placing the Nobility*⁵ and the *Ordinances for Justes and Triumphes*,⁶ both issued on

the same date, 29 May 1466. The *Justes and Triumphes* has been printed by Harington in his *Nugae Antiquae* and also by Meyrick in his work on *Antient Armour*;⁷ the other has remained in manuscript.

There has been some controversy about the correct reading of the title of the *Ordinances for Justes*. Tanner⁸ reads 'Justes of Peirs Royall', and so does Lord Orford in his *Royal and Noble Authors*. Harington, on the other hand, reads 'Justes of Peaces'.⁹ In a paper written for the Society of Antiquaries¹⁰ Francis Douce made the suggestion that 'Peirs' should be read as 'Pecis'—that is, peaceable jousts, done for amusement. This would be equivalent to the 'Hastiludia pacifica' or French 'joustes à plaisir', as opposed to the 'joustes à outrance', or 'joustes mortelles' of Froissart.

Caxton mentions 'Justes of pees' in his epilogue to the *Book of the Ordre of Chyualry*, which he translated from a French version of Ramon Lull's *Le libre del orde de Cauayleria*,¹¹ when he deplores the decline of modern chivalry. 'O ye knyghtes of Englond, where is the custome and vsage of noble chyualry that was vsed in the days? What do ye now but go to the baynes and playe att dyse? . . . Allas what doo ye but slepe & take ease and ar al disordred fro chyualry . . . how many knyghtes ben ther now in Englond that haue thuse and thexercyse of a knyghte? . . . I wold it pleasyd oure souerayne lord that twyes or thryes in a yere or at the lest ones he wold do crye Justes of pees to thende that euery knyght shold haue hors and harneys and also the use and craft of a knyght and also to tornoye one ageynste one or ii ageynst ii. And the best to haue a prys, a dyamond or Jewel suche as shold please the prynce. This shold cause gentylmen to resorte to thauncyent customes of chyualry to grete fame and renomee. And also to be alwey redy to serue theyr prynce whan he shalle calle them or haue nede. . .

This passage makes perfectly clear the meaning of 'justes o pees', or 'peaces', or 'pecis', or, as in MS. Ashmole 76, fo. 148, 'peeces': there is no suggestion of 'peirs', which is indeed, a rather fantastic interpretation.

Tiptoft's ordinances were admirably framed and were evidently considered models of their kind, for they were again put into force, with scarcely any emendation, a hundred years later when jousting was revived as a court amusement in the days of Elizabeth. Their lucidity and conciseness are remarkable; there is the same clear-headed thought that is noticeable in Tiptoft's address to Sir Ralph Grey. Apart from this, they have no special literary merit; their interest is mainly antiquarian and technical. In their day they had a very considerable vogue, this is clear from the large number of copies that still survive. No gentleman's library would be complete without some such manual of instruction; among the books of John Paston the younger is one which he describes as 'my book of knyghthood . . . of Justes and Tournaments', this includes Tiptoft's *Justes and Triumphes* written out in what is believed to be Paston's own hand.¹²

III

These ordinances and also those for placing the nobility were drawn up at Windsor, shortly before the famous tournament at Smithfield was due to take place, and no doubt were intended for use upon that occasion. Tiptoft also drew up a special series of rules for the most important combat of this meeting, the fight between the Englishman Lord Scales and Antoine, the Bastard of Burgundy, illegitimate son of Duke Philip the Good. Tiptoft acted as Master of Ceremonies and umpire during the tournament.

This meeting between two well-known champions was the

outcome of a challenge from the Bastard, who had written to Lord Scales that he would like to break a lance with him. Lord Scales had in reply sent his herald¹³ to Brussels, where he was entertained for nine days 'daily with a great cheer, as pertained an herald to have', and when he returned to England bearing the Bastard's acceptance of the challenge, he was given a present of forty florins, a 'rich gown furred with sable', and the Bastard's own black velvet doublet with golden clasps. The Bastard bore the title of Comte de la Roche en Ardenne; he had been chosen a Knight of the Golden Fleece at The Hague just ten years earlier.¹⁴ He was a very gallant gentleman, famed for his courtesy and knightly conduct, and he was a skilful fighter with lance or sword.

The English champion, Lord Scales, was by his friends considered the very flower of chivalry. Anthony Woodville was the eldest son of Lord Rivers by Jaquetta, Duchess of Bedford, and in 1462 he married Elizabeth, the only daughter and heiress of that Thomas Lord Scales who was murdered by Thames watermen in 1460, and in her right Woodville adopted the title of Lord Scales. When Edward IV married Anthony Woodville's sister in 1464, he gave his brother-in-law many grants of lands and offices, and at first showed him much favour, and tilted with him at Eltham. Early in 1466 Woodville reached the high-water mark of his career when he was made a Knight of the Garter.

Lord Scales was a picturesque figure at a tournament and chivalrous to the highest degree in the company of ladies; on the actual battlefield he was less effective. Once, when he was staying with the Duke of Burgundy, in 1476, he told the Duke, Charles the Rash, that he would be delighted to join in the war against the Swiss by taking his place in the line of battle. 'But hearing . . . that the enemy were near at hand and they expected to meet them, he asked leave to depart.

saying he was sorry he could not stay . . . the Duke laughed about it to me, saying, he has gone because he is afraid.'¹⁵ The Milanese ambassador wrote thus to the Duke of Milan. It should be remarked, however, that this ambassador had the keenest of ears for scandalous gossip and few malicious remarks passed by him unheard and unrepeated.

Edward IV, too, lowered his opinion of his brother-in-law and was much annoyed when Anthony Woodville asked permission to go to Portugal to fight the Saracens in fulfilment of a vow. This was shortly after the battle of Tewkesbury, and Edward considered that he should not have suggested leaving the country at such a time. Woodville later converted his crusade into a pilgrimage and made an extensive tour in Italy, visiting the shrine of St. Matthew in the kingdom of Naples and that of St. Nicholas at Bari in Apulia.¹⁶ Near Rome he had an unpleasant experience, for at Brasciano he was held up by robbers who took from him 'precious gems, gold, jewels, money, silver cups . . . and other things of great value'; his loss was popularly estimated at a thousand marks.¹⁷ It was Woodville's own fault; he should not have travelled with such elaborate luggage, which would naturally offer a tempting prize for bold thieves. It seems, too, that he and his servants put up only a poor resistance. Some of the stolen jewels were afterwards recovered at Venice; Woodville offered a free pardon and a reward of 300 ducats for anyone who could give information leading to the bandits' arrest,¹⁸ but they were never identified.

As a man of action, these episodes were not particularly creditable to Woodville. In other fields, however, he won much renown and Caxton found in him one of his best patrons. He had some reputation as a poet and a man of letters. He could turn pretty verses, and he made several prose translations from the French which he sent to Caxton to be

emended before they were issued from his press.¹⁹ He was not a profound scholar, but he had a certain felicity of phrase and an admiration for the more simple works of the philosophers. Compared with Tiptoft, Anthony Woodville reveals himself as a gifted amateur in letters as in worldly affairs, not the man to be claimed as a friend by scholars, nor a dependable servant of his King, but a pleasant and graceful courtier with a dilettante interest in the arts. He was gentle and sensitive and easily influenced; his inability to take a firm line ultimately led to his death, for he was suspected, possibly quite unjustly, of disloyalty to Richard III and was executed by that King's orders in 1483.

IV

The Bastard of Burgundy was expected to arrive in England during the summer of 1466, and a safe-conduct was issued to him in June, but Franco-Burgundian affairs kept him at his father's side, and it was not until the end of May 1467 that he was able to keep his appointment.

For several weeks before the Bastard's arrival, Tiptoft and the heralds had been at pains to choose and prepare a ground. Smithfield was selected as the most convenient site, and workmen brought many loads of gravel to make the surface of the ground and 'water sand' from the banks of the Thames, while carpenters were busy putting up stands and preparing the barrier. The 'barrier' of canvas stretched upon a wooden frame had only been in use for some twenty-five years; it raised the standard of skill required to unhorse an opponent and prevented the harness and trappings of the horses from becoming entangled, as each knight was obliged to keep his own side of the barrier. At this time it was generally about four feet high; in the sixteenth century the height was raised to six feet.

On either side of the ground tents were erected, one for each knight and his esquires, decorated in his own colours. The King's stage was built high above the ground, in the centre, parallel with the barrier, so that the King and his friends could have a bird's-eye view of the tournament: it was in much the same relative position as the Royal Box at Twickenham to-day. The expenses of all these 'works' were reckoned at more than £90, a prodigious sum in these days.

At last news came that the Bastard was on his way up the Thames, and on 30 May Tiptoft and a number of London citizens, and lords and ladies, all clad in their best and brightest clothes, went to Blackwall to receive him. They travelled by river, in gaily decorated barges, with hangings of tapestry and gold. Tiptoft received the distinguished visitor with much ceremony, and accompanied him in one of the barges as far as Billingsgate. Here they disembarked, and Tiptoft rode with the Bastard to the lodging prepared for him in Fleet Street, where the Bishop of Salisbury's house had been lent for the occasion. Elaborate and costly preparations had been made for his comfort and entertainment, and even the bed hangings were of cloth of gold.

Three days later Edward IV came up to London from Kingston and rode in state to open Parliament. Tiptoft and the Deputy Marshal rode before him, with Lord Scales bearing the sword of state, and, after making an offering at St. Paul's, the procession rode on to Westminster. Next day the Bastard and his Knights were present when Edward opened Parliament in the Painted Chamber, and the Bastard had an audience with the King. Excitement was rising fast, and both Court and commons were looking forward to a marvellous spectacle as the day for this much-advertised and often-postponed tournament drew near.

On Thursday, 11 June, the crowds began to gather early in the morning, for a public holiday had been proclaimed. All the commons who could do so squeezed their way into the enclosure, and the less fortunate climbed trees to look over the heads of the spectators. Presently the King arrived, looking magnificent in a purple robe, wearing the Garter at his knee.²⁰ His friends and councillors sat with him, and below his box were three tiers of seats for knights and esquires. On the opposite side of the ground was a lower stage, erected for the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London. Tiptoft and Sir John Howard, acting as deputy for the Duke of Norfolk, who was Earl Marshal,²¹ stood directly below the Royal Box.

When everything was ready, Lord Scales rode up to the bars and asked permission to enter the field. The King bade him enter, and he and his attendant knights saluted the King and withdrew to his tent, or pavilion, which was of blue satin. Immediately afterwards the Bastard appeared, and he too was admitted to the field, did reverence to the King, and withdrew to his pavilion. Both champions then armed themselves, while proclamation was made at the four corners of the field that the fight was about to begin, and the heralds bade the spectators be careful not to make any noise or demonstration that might distract the combatants.

Then one of the heralds shouted 'Laissez aller!' and the fight began. At the very first clash there was an unfortunate contretemps. Some projecting piece of metal from the saddle of Lord Scales caught the Bastard's horse full on the head, and both mount and rider were hurled to the ground. The Bastard was not seriously hurt, though much shaken and bruised, but the horse was badly damaged and died soon after. This was a breach of all rules of the tourney, and in Tiptoft's ordinance it was expressly stated that 'whoso striketh

a horse shall have no prize', so that it seemed Lord Scales ought to be immediately disqualified for a foul thrust. Opinion was divided as to what had really occurred. The chronicler, Gregory, was an eye-witness; he says, 'I wot not what I shalle say of hit, whethyr hit was fortune, crafte, or cunnyng'. Lord Scales hastily stripped off his horse's trappings to show that he had nothing to hide, that there was no weapon concealed beneath the saddle-cloth. Most onlookers were agreed that it was purely a mischance; at first Edward was furious with his brother-in-law, but it soon became clear that Lord Scales had had no wish or intention to strike a foul blow and that his distress was genuine. The Bastard was offered another horse, but he preferred to fight no more that day and said he would wait for the morrow when the combat would be on foot. The crowd, disappointed at this anticlimax, drifted slowly homeward.

Next day the fight was fierce and exciting. The weapons chosen were axes and daggers; careful arrangements were made for keeping the score, every hit being recorded in writing.²² Both combatants were in the mood to fight ferociously, Lord Scales to vindicate his honour, the Bastard to demonstrate his skill. Lord Scales entered the field crying 'St. George! St. George! St. George!' and he and the Bastard set about each other with their axes as soon as they were within striking distance. It was a grim and savage fight, both men swinging their heavy-headed axes with all their might, and the clash of weapons upon armour was noisy and incessant. Soon the armour of both men showed dents and gashes from the blows, and it looked as though the fight would end in the death of one or both combatants.

Suddenly Edward IV rose in his seat, and cast down the baton he carried, throwing it between the knights as a signal that the fight must stop. 'He commaundid them ych to take

othir by the handes, and to love togedir as breythirs in armes; which they so did.²³ Again, opinion was divided; most of the English chroniclers are agreed that Lord Scales had rather the better of the fight before the King intervened, but there was little to choose between two courageous and skilful fighters. Gregory says 'they fought on fote fulle welle', and in discussing who ought to be adjudged winner he shrewdly adds—'ax of them that felde the strokys, they can tell you best'.²⁴

The crowd had now enjoyed a spectacle really worth seeing, and the next day and at intervals during the following week there were further combats on horse and on foot between various other knights and esquires. On Sunday, 14 June, a great banquet was held in the Grocers' Hall in honour of the Bastard and his knights, and he was planning to give a return banquet of even greater magnificence, when news came of the sudden death of Philip the Good of Burgundy, and the Bastard had to hurry home to Bruges²⁵ to attend his father's funeral.

On one further occasion Lord Scales and the Bastard met on the field. This was at the marriage of Duke Charles the Rash and Margaret sister of Edward IV in 1468. The market-place in Bruges was cleared for the event and the combats took place there in a setting of great magnificence. Lord Scales and the Bastard had taken a pledge after the Smithfield tournament that they would never fight each other again, so this time they met as friends. Indeed, the Bastard hurt his knee so badly early in the tournament that he could do no more fighting, and had to leave his 'golden tree' to be defended by his knights.²⁶ The pageants in Bruges were, said John Paston, the best that ever he saw, and the Duke's court was so splendid that he had never heard of any that could compare with it except the court of King Arthur.²⁷

The great tournament at Smithfield was a landmark in Edward's reign ; it gave the Londoners occupation and a fine spectacle, and for a time distracted the minds of all from their unhappy condition. For a few days the Londoners could afford to be gay and light-hearted and enjoy this elaborate pageantry and exciting incident, unmindful of the cares, hardships and extortions which would face them on the morrow.

CHAPTER VIII

TIPTOFT IN IRELAND

'A great deed was done in Droiched-atha this year: to wit, the Earl of Desmond . . . was beheaded. And the learned relate that there was not ever in Ireland a Foreign youth that was better than he. And he was killed in treachery by a Saxon Earl.' *Annals of Ulster.*

I

EDWARD IV was greatly impressed by Tiptoft's qualities of firmness and integrity, and had such faith in him that he believed him able to handle any problem, however difficult. It was this faith that led the King to set Tiptoft the all-but-impossible task of controlling and bringing order to Ireland. The condition of this country during the middle years of the fifteenth century was one of utter confusion. There had been several years of scarcity, famine was threatened, and the whole country was in an almost permanent state of civil war. The native Irish preyed upon each other and still more upon the English settlers in the anglicized region round Dublin, whose position was very precarious as the statutes intended for their protection were practically valueless. The nominal Viceroy was Lord-Lieutenant, but the government was really in the hands of a Deputy nominated by the Crown. For many years these Deputies had been selected either from the heads of the Irish nobility of the Pale, with the idea that their familiarity with Irish conditions and their local authority would enable them to keep order, or from the higher ecclesiastics. This meant that English power lay in Irish hands. Both Irish

and English disliked this system, the natives because they hated order and government, and the settlers because the Lord-Deputy was likely to be a man with strong personal interests which would probably conflict with their own.

Twenty years before Tiptoft went to Ireland as Deputy, Richard Duke of York had been sent to restore order there. His appointment really amounted to banishment, but he set himself so firmly to win the goodwill of the native Irish and the confidence of the English settlers that, according to Stow, he 'so assuaged the fury of the wilde and savage people there, that hee won such favour among them, as could never be separated from him and his lineage'.¹ When his son George (afterwards Duke of Clarence) was born in Dublin Castle, he even persuaded such hereditary foes as the Earls of Desmond and Ormonde to forget their differences sufficiently to stand as sponsors for the boy.² This traditional friendship with the House of York continued in the case of Desmond, but James Earl of Ormonde, who was head of the Butler family, threw in his lot with Margaret of Anjou, seeing better opportunities of advancing his own career by supporting Lancaster. However, he misjudged the issue, and in 1461 he was beheaded at Newcastle after the battle of Towton. His brother and heir, Sir John Butler, was attainted, but continued to press his claim to the Earldom of Ormonde, and landing in Ireland with some English troops he captured one of Desmond's sons and laid waste the town of Waterford. Desmond himself hurried to meet him, and after a grim and bloody battle at Piltdown in Kilkenny, Sir John Butler was defeated and forced to withdraw. Ultimately he was pardoned by Edward IV, who liked him, and his earldom was restored.³

Edward IV was quick to recognize Desmond's merits, and made him Deputy under the Lieutenancy of his own brother Clarence. Desmond succeeded William Sherwood Bishop of

Meath, in this post, and he had to put up with jealousy and covert opposition on the bishop's part. At first his rule was highly successful; he reduced all Meath to obedience and rebuilt and repaired the frontier castles and the towns of Carlow and Ross. He suspended the statutes prohibiting commerce between the natives and the settlers, which had often proved a source of friction, although he retained the provision that the English were not to sell the Irish arms or victuals in time of war.⁴ In the time of Henry VI the two nations had been kept so strictly apart that the English had not even been allowed to wear beards after the Irish fashion.

Thomas, the eighth Earl of Desmond, was the head of the Fitzgerald family, the brother-in-law of the Earl of Kildare, and probably the most powerful man in Ireland. The chroniclers describe him as handsome and valiant—‘the most illustrious of his tribe in Ireland in his time for his comeliness and stature, for his hospitality and chivalry, his charity and humanity to the poor and the indigent of the Lord, his bounteousness in bestowing jewels and riches on the laity, the clergy and the poets, and his suppression of theft and immorality’.⁵ Desmond and Kildare together established and endowed the ‘Gray Friary’ at Adare in Limerick, and Desmond succeeded in getting an act passed to establish a university at Drogheda on the lines of Oxford.

The whole time he held office Desmond was constantly improving and strengthening his position; according to the *Annals of Ulster*, ‘. . . there was not ever in Ireland a Foreign youth that was better than he’. The Anglo-Irish were inclined to like him, although he was more than a little despotic, and Edward IV succeeded in winning the friendship of the head of the leading sept, the O’Neills, by a timely present of forty yards of scarlet cloth and a collar of gold, so that it seemed possible to look forward to some years of peace.

In 1464, however, Desmond's quarrel with the Bishop of Meath came to a head, and they both went to England to complain to Edward IV. The Bishop accused Desmond of various irregularities, but the Irish parliament sent letters to the King rehearsing the great services of Desmond and his father before him to the English crown. The Bishop failed to prove his case, and to all appearances Edward IV was satisfied with Desmond, for he made much of him, and early in 1465 he sent him back to Ireland with a present of six manors in Meath. For all his fair words, however, Edward probably suspected both Desmond and Kildare of favouring Warwick and of secretly plotting with him to secure the throne for Clarence. It is possible, too, that Desmond let fall some criticism of the King's recent marriage with Elizabeth Woodville. The Earl's grandson wrote a memorial, printed in the *Calendar of Carew Papers*,⁶ in which he alleges that one day while Edward IV and Desmond were out hunting, the King questioned him closely and elicited the fact that Desmond thought he had lowered his princely estate by marrying beneath him. Such a remark, if Desmond made it, was in poor taste and certainly very indiscreet.

The following year, 1466, was a disastrous one for the English colony in Ireland. The Anglo-Irish in Leinster were continually harried by the septs, and the whole country from Naas to Tara was laid waste. It was only the timely death of Tadheg, son of Torlogh O'Brien, that prevented the natives from setting him up as king at Tara; as it was, they coerced Limerick into paying him tribute. Desmond seemed to have lost his former vigour, thus lending colour to his enemies' suggestion of wavering allegiance, and he himself was taken prisoner by O'Conor Faly and forced to buy peace by a concession of lands.⁷

Clearly it was time for Edward to intervene, before matters

went from bad to worse. He began to lend a willing ear to those complaints of the Bishop of Meath to which he had hitherto been deaf, and it is possible that he found some evidence that Desmond had been corresponding with his enemies. At all events, he suddenly withdrew his favour from Desmond. Now that he had practically subdued Wales, Ireland was Edward's chief danger, and he was in constant dread of an invasion from that quarter. The writer of the *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* offered sound advice :

'. . . wyth all youre myght take hede
To kepen Yrelond that it be not loste, .
For it is a boterasse and a poste
Undre England, and Wales is another.
God forbede that eche were othere brothere,
Of one ligeaunce dewe unto the Kynge.'⁸

It was essential for Edward to be able to depend upon the Deputy, and the Deputy must be a man capable of quelling disorder with a firm hand, and whose loyalty was unassailable. Edward was already determined to supersede Desmond, and in Tiptoft it seemed that he had found the very man he needed for the post. So, in 1467, although he could ill be spared, Tiptoft was bidden to collect an army and to set sail for Ireland as soon as he might.

II

As early as June 1465, that is, immediately after Desmond's visit to England, there had been some talk of sending Tiptoft to Ireland 'with an armed force for the safe custody of that land', and by a patent of 8 June 1465 he was to be given 'cannons and habiliments of war',⁹ but he never went; probably he could not then be spared from his numerous

duties. It was not until September 1467 that Tiptoft actually set out, but for several months before that he had been making his preparations. On the 9 May a commission was issued to William Payntour and others to provide waggons and horses 'for the carriage required by the King's kinsman John Earl of Worcester, who is going to Ireland for the repression of the rebels there',¹⁰ and as early as 17 April William Cannynge, Mayor of Bristol, was commissioned to charter various ships, among them the *George of Worcester*, for the transport of Tiptoft's troops.¹¹

Before he left England Tiptoft resigned and sold the offices he held. In August 1467 he made way for the King's father-in-law, Lord Rivers, who succeeded him as Constable, and the same month he resigned his post of Chief Justice of North Wales in favour of Lord Herbert, newly created Earl of Pembroke, in consideration of a grant of £200 a year for life,¹² while Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, succeeded him as Constable of Porchester. All the saleable lands and grants he had received from the King Tiptoft turned into ready money, but he accepted £800 from the customs of Bristol in settlement of the debt of £1600 which Edward IV owed him from a private loan. This was at the end of October 1467.¹³

On his way to Ireland Tiptoft had occasion to stay in Ludlow while he waited for men and supplies. Here he met, and very promptly married, his third wife.¹⁴ Like his first and second wives, she was a widow; by birth she was Elizabeth Hopton, co-heiress with her brother of Sir William Lucy, and she had been married to a west country knight, Sir Roger Corbet. A pardon was later issued to Tiptoft and his wife for marrying without licence; no doubt there was no time to wait for such a formality. Elizabeth accompanied her husband to Ireland, and there bore him his only surviving child, Edward the second Earl.

At the end of the year Tiptoft landed at Howth, and soon after his arrival convened a parliament of the English settlers at Dublin. His first action was to join with the Earl of Kildare and the Bishop of Meath, and with his new wife, in establishing a chantry in the church of St. Secundinus at Dunslaughin in County Meath.¹⁵ Even while the first Mass was being said Tiptoft may have contemplated the execution of Desmond and perhaps of Kildare as well, yet he was neither irreligious nor hypocritical. No doubt he shared the current opinion that a man's chance of salvation may be measured by the number and richness of his religious foundations, but he was genuinely pious and retained to the end of his life his simple religious fervour. Tiptoft had already founded a fraternity, or gild, in honour of the Virgin, in the chapel of St. Mary at All-Hallows, Barking; ¹⁶ this chapel, at the east end of the north aisle, is now the headquarters of Toc H, and the Lamp of Maintenance now hangs where Tiptoft used to hear Mass. His name and coat of arms may still be seen on the wall of the newly-opened crypt.

The parliament convened at Dublin was soon transferred to Drogheda, and here the most important act of the session was passed. This was no less than the attainder of Desmond, Kildare and Edward Plunkett, who were attainted of treason and sentenced to forfeit their lands, ' . . . for divers causes, horrible treasons and felonies . . . as well in alliance fosterage and alterage with the Irish enemies of the King, as in giving to them horses and harness and arms, and supporting them against the King's faithful subjects, which is notoriously and entirely known and done contrary to the King's laws, and the laudable statutes of this land of Ireland.'¹⁷ The lands of these three 'traitors' were at once confiscated, and Desmond, naturally very much incensed, appeared in person at Drogheda to answer the charges. Enemies of the Geraldines were readily found who

could testify to their injustice, arrogance and oppression, and soon there was a formidable body of evidence against the late Deputy. Lord Portlester also was accused of treason by John Gilbert, who alleged that he had urged Desmond to take upon himself to be King of Ireland, but when ordered by Tiptoft to prove his accusation by a certain date, Gilbert fled and joined the Irish enemies of Edward IV, so that the accusation against Lord Portlester was dropped, and Gilbert instead was attainted of treason.¹⁸

The accusation against Desmond remained general and vague, but it was quite clear that his rule had been extremely autocratic; the English settlers were alarmed by his friendship and popularity with the Irish, and were quite ready to believe that he had offended against the statutes forbidding the supply of 'sinews of war' to the Irish and that he was thus, technically, guilty of treason. A verdict to this effect was returned, and Tiptoft condemned Desmond to death; on St. Valentine's Day 1468 he was executed at Drogheda. Kildare fled to England to plead his cause before Edward IV, so that Tiptoft at one blow became rid of the two most powerful men in the country.

It seems that Tiptoft outraged public opinion, already shocked by Desmond's death, by executing as well two of Desmond's sons. In a sixteenth-century account the two boys, the elder of them barely thirteen, were at their lessons in Drogheda, and immediately after their father's death Tiptoft ordered them both to be beheaded.¹⁹ In a still later account one Baggott of Limerick, Desmond's page, a comely youth 'of whome the King himselfe tooke speciall notice with the Earle in England',²⁰ protested against his master's execution and met with the same fate, but there is no mention of this before the middle of the seventeenth century. The only contemporary reference to the murder of Desmond's young

sons is a bald statement in the *Register of the Mayors of Dublin*—‘1469 [sic] This yeare the Earle of Desmond &c his two sonnes were executed by y^e Earle of Worcestre in Droghe^da’.²¹ The story must have been widely current, for it reached the ears of Vespasiano in Florence, perhaps from the lips of the Italian Dominican who witnessed Tiptoft’s execution, but it is extraordinary that the Irish chronicles should pass the matter over in silence, for they all record Desmond’s death with lamentation and are only too ready to heap maledictions upon the ‘Saxon Earl’.

Eighty years later the statement was generally accepted, and it heads the list of charges directed against Tiptoft in Sackville’s *Mirrour for Magistrates*:

‘*The chiefest crime wherewith men doe me charge
Is death of th’ Earle of Desmond’s noble sons.*’²²

On the whole, probability points to the truth of the accusation despite the silence of the Irish chroniclers, but even so there are curious features about the case. It was a singularly wanton act, due to sudden rage or sheer irresponsible cruelty, which could have no result other than arousing resentment in even the mildest of men. Had Tiptoft wished to stamp out the whole brood he should have seized Desmond’s other and older sons—as it was, five of them were left to carry on the feud, and Tiptoft only succeeded in concentrating upon himself their fury and desire for vengeance.

A curious legend, current in the sixteenth century, declares that Elizabeth Woodville engineered Desmond’s execution in revenge for the disparaging remarks he was supposed to have made about the royal marriage, urging the King to divorce his Queen, who was, he said, a traitor’s widow,²³ and to make a ‘convenient and meet marriage’. Edward IV

was supposed to have repeated this to the Queen in a tactless moment, refusing to take the matter seriously and only laughing at her anger. Then, the story runs, the Queen forged a letter addressed to the Earl of Worcester as though by the King, and rising early in the morning while the King still slept, she stole his privy signet from his purse, sealed the letter and afterwards had it conveyed to Tiptoft. This letter was Desmond's death-warrant, containing instructions for his execution. The legend is first found some seventy years after the event, in a memorial addressed by Desmond's grandson to the Privy Council, petitioning for the restoration of the manor of Dungarvan, which had been confiscated when Desmond was attainted.²⁴ This story has no contemporary evidence to confirm it and is highly improbable, but it perhaps contains a germ of truth in the suggestion that Tiptoft had secret instructions to dispose of Desmond, even, if necessary, by such drastic means.

The real reason for the execution was twofold: in the first place, the Deputies of late years, and Desmond in particular, had been too powerful locally and too Irish in their sympathies, and, secondly, it cannot be denied that the last two years of Desmond's rule had been disastrous and lent colour to the suggestion that he was anything but whole-hearted in his support of the Yorkist cause. It was, however, a lamentable error. The Geraldines were naturally alienated by it, and from being the most powerful supporters of English rule they became its most violent opponents, the Fitzgeralds of Munster ravaging and laying waste the country in Meath and Kildare. Disorder grew into chaos, and it was found impossible to maintain even a semblance of authority without the help of the Earl of Kildare; he was accordingly pardoned and his forfeited lands were restored.²⁵

III

It has sometimes been suggested that Tiptoft had a private reason for wishing that Desmond was out of his way. The manors of Inchiquin and Youghal had formerly belonged to the family of Tibetot, and Sir Robert de Tibetot had been confirmed in possession of them a hundred years earlier, but in 1469 Desmond held them, his father, the seventh Earl, having taken them under his protection. Tiptoft had a shadowy claim to these manors, but the Scrope family had a better one, as Sir Robert de Tibetot and Tiptoft's grandfather, Sir Payn, were only half-brothers and the inheritance came through Sir Robert's mother. Desmond's title was poorer still, but Tiptoft made no attempt to press this ancient claim, even after Desmond's death, so that this personal motive for Desmond's death can be dismissed without further consideration.

The Irish Parliament under Tiptoft's rule had six sessions and passed a number of acts of minor importance, mostly connected with defensive measures against the septs and against the pirates who were preying upon the coast. County Kildare was assessed for walling Naas, which was to be 'a memorial perpetually enduring' for Tiptoft,²⁶ and he also undertook the erection of a fortress upon the island of Lambay. In this latter case Tiptoft was as autocratic as Desmond himself, taking the island from the owner, the Archbishop of Dublin, 'without his consent and against his will', and making him sign a deed letting it for fifty-nine years at a rent of 40s. per annum.

Tiptoft was heavily handicapped by his ignorance of local conditions, and although he made many efforts to restore order, his rule was far from effective. His most important measure concerned the payment of 'black rent', a tribute which had



TIPTOFT'S SEAL

for years past been extorted from the English settlers by the native septs. Tiptoft ordained that it should in future be paid to the Deputy for the maintenance of an army ;²⁷ this brought no relief to the settlers and infuriated the Irish. Parliament found it necessary to send an urgent letter to Edward IV asking for reinforcements.²⁸ In this letter the difficulties of keeping the peace are emphasized, 'considering the smalle nombre of your trewe subjectes that resteth with your saide depute lieutenaunt in comparison to the grete nombre of your Irish enemyes and Englishe rebelx', and he is implored 'to provide and sende . . . souldiars and goode withall, with whiche your saide lande may be conserved and your subjects therof defended. And without that our said goode lorde your depute lieutenant be assured therof in all hast possible . . . your saide lande . . . may not be withstande ne defendat but oonly by the presence of your said depute lieutenant'. The letter is an admission of weakness and failure, and it is clear that Tiptoft is holding his position by force of character unsupported by force of arms.

In spite of these preoccupations Tiptoft found time to reward those who proved themselves faithful, the Constable of Carrickfergus, for instance, and the Mayor of Drogheda, who was permitted to enjoy the privilege of having a sword borne before him 'as does the Mayor of the city of London'; this was in recognition of his valour in beating off an attack by one John Oraillby when he raided Louth.²⁹ At the instance of the Abbot, Tiptoft confirmed St. Mary's Abbey at Dublin in the rights and possessions it had hitherto enjoyed and gave the abbey his protection;³⁰ but the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem was less fortunate, for he incurred Tiptoft's displeasure and was actually imprisoned until he should pay the Deputy 'forty pounds of money, to his intolerable injury and the great damage of the said Hospital ;

and so that the said prior by reason of his losses could not pay his responson at Rhodes'.³¹

Others besides the Prior found Tiptoft's rule harsh and oppressive. Richard Verdon of Termonfechin, County Louth, had always held his land exempt from subsidy, 'until now lately in the time of the Earl of Worcester, who by the rigour of his lordship, caused the said Richard to pay the subsidy for his said demesnes contrary to the usage of the said county'.³² In 1471-72 Richard Verdon recovered his privilege; he was only one of many who suffered from the rigour of Tiptoft's lordship, and obeyed him sullenly and fearfully. To quote an extreme case, Thomas Hammond, taking warning from Desmond's fate, when ordered to show Parliament his title and rights to his lands 'for fear of his life from the Earl of Worcester dared not appear'.³³

It is not surprising that Tiptoft's recall, early in 1470, was welcomed with joy by the Irish. One and all they attributed it to Edward's displeasure at Desmond's summary execution and gave wild accounts of Tiptoft's death, some declaring that he was beheaded by Edward IV, and in one case alleging that 'The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence cut into quarters the wreck of the maledictions of the men of Ireland, namely the Saxon Justiciary by whom the Earl of Desmond had been destroyed, and it was in revenge of Thomas [i.e. Desmond] that this ignominious punishment was inflicted on him'.³⁴ This is a fanciful picture and far from the truth. Actually, Tiptoft was recalled from Ireland not so much because of his unsuccessful rule as because Edward could not do without him; he needed loyal support very urgently, for during Tiptoft's absence things had gone badly for Edward in England and he had nearly lost his throne. Tiptoft was promoted to be Lieutenant in place of Clarence, and the lately-forgiven Earl of Kildare succeeded him as Deputy.

Edward IV had certainly shown no signs of disapproving of Tiptoft's actions in Ireland, and when Tiptoft's son was born, on 14 July 1469,³⁵ Edward consented to be his godfather, sending his godson and namesake a handsome gilt cup as a christening present. Moreover, on Tiptoft's return, the King pressed upon him offices and grants of lands and wardships as never before, and, in short, showed every sign of delight in welcoming him home.

CHAPTER IX

THE BUTCHER OF ENGLAND

‘ . . . the erle of Worcester, whiche, for his crueltye, was called the bocher of Englande . . . ’

JOHN RASTELL: *The Pastyme of People*.

I

FOR several years before he went to Ireland Tiptoft’s reputation for severity had been increasing; at first he was looked upon as a man not to be trifled with and impossible to bribe, and a stern dispenser of justice, after a time he began to inspire awe and terror, and finally he became ‘ille trux carnifex et hominum decollator horridus’ of a contemporary chronicle.¹ He was rigid in applying penalties, and the occasional leniency which many men would have practised in his place would have seemed to him mere weakness. On one occasion, in January 1465, two young squires, Thomas St. Leger and Stephen Christmas, were casually chattering within the precincts of the palace of Westminster. A boyish dispute developed into a quarrel, and St. Leger unthinkingly hit Christmas and wounded him. Now there was a statute that ‘if any person shall strike another within the palace of Westminster he shall lose his right hand’, and on the strength of this Tiptoft condemned St. Leger to be taken to the place where he had struck the other boy and there to lose his hand.² At this point the King intervened, for he was fond of young St. Leger, who had served him well, and gave him a special pardon. Such a savage sentence was not unusual, and it was from no

general feeling of humanity that Edward IV interfered, for he himself a few years earlier had ordered the right hand of one of his own servants to be cut off at the standard in Cheapside because he had struck a man in the presence of the judges in Westminster Hall,³ and as this unfortunate man had no important relatives to plead for him, the sentence was carried out in all its brutality.

In November 1466 Edward IV sent Tiptoft to Wales with instructions to capture the rebel castle of Harlech by any means he could, in the hope that the terror inspired by his reputation would induce the defenders to yield the castle without more ado. Wales was a difficult problem for both Lancaster and York, and the mountain fastnesses were ideal hiding-places for rebels of both parties. Harlech was a Lancastrian stronghold; Margaret of Anjou had found safety and a warm welcome there when she fled to Wales after the battle of Northampton, and it had withstood three years of a siege, conducted first by Lord Herbert and later by the Earl of Kent. Both had completely failed, for its mountainous surroundings made the castle almost impregnable. 'That castylle', said Gregory, 'ys so stronge that men sayde that hyt was inpossybille unto any man to gete hyt . . . that castelle was fortefyd and vytalyd by suche as loyed Kyng Harry.' By the summer of 1466 the rebels had become very bold, they had captured Holt Castle nearby and were making dashing raids upon the country round about, so that even the inhabitants of a fortified town like Shrewsbury feared for their lives and goods.

When Tiptoft set out for Harlech, Shrewsbury contributed both men and money to his force, and the bailiff's accounts for 1466-7 show a number of expenses incurred on his behalf.⁴ The terror inspired by the Constable's name, however, instead of inducing immediate surrender, only stiffened the

resistance of the defenders, so that it defeated its own object. The garrison of Harlech, under the valiant giant David ap Jevan ap Enyon, made a brave show, and held out for several months until the failure of a relief expedition robbed them of all hope. By this time Tiptoft had gone to Ireland, and the credit of capturing Harlech, after surmounting almost incredible difficulties in conveying his men across the mountains, went to Lord Herbert. This feat won him the title of Earl of Pembroke. On the 14 August 1467 ap Jevan surrendered, and he himself and fifty of his followers were taken to the Tower of London as prisoners; the new Constable, Lord Rivers, condemned two of them to be beheaded on Tower Hill.

II

During Tiptoft's absence in Ireland Edward IV had relaxed all his vigilance and allowed his affairs to drift while he gave himself up to pleasure and dissipated his time in feasting and pleasant conversation and his energies in hunting. It seemed to him that danger of losing his hardly-won crown was remote; the North and Scotland seemed quiet, while the Border castles were in his hands and Harlech, the last Lancastrian foothold in Wales, was his also. It was true that disquieting rumours were coming in from Ireland, but Tiptoft was there, and if his sternness and vigilance could not quell revolt, nothing could. So Edward argued, and in consequence the rebellion in the North, led by Sir John Conyers as 'Robin of Redesdale', came as a rude shock. For once in his life Edward completely lost his grip, and a further blow fell when two of his most trustworthy adherents, the Earl of Pembroke and the Constable, Lord Rivers, were beheaded by order of Warwick and Clarence after the battle of Edgecote. Edward himself fell into Warwick's hands, an embarrassing

position for both parties, for although the Earl of Warwick had definitely deserted Edward he was not yet prepared to declare for Henry VI, and so Edward was set free after the exchange of some meaningless pledges.

Warwick, who had for some time past shown signs of disaffection, was thought to be scheming to set up Edward's brother, George Duke of Clarence, as king. Of all the self-seeking adventurers of this time, 'false, fleeting perjured Clarence' is the most despicable. He owed everything he had to the generosity of the brother he was trying to supplant, and he was weak, nerveless and vain. When Sir Robert Welles was captured after Edward's suppression of the Lincolnshire rising, early in 1470, he admitted before his execution⁵ that the object of the rebellion had been to make Clarence king. The treachery was unmistakable, and on 23 March 1470 Edward issued a proclamation against Warwick and Clarence, 'whereupon they fled incontinently to France', there to plan another revolt.

By the end of 1469 Edward's genuine supporters had so diminished in number that he grew thoroughly alarmed, and felt obliged to recall Tiptoft from Ireland to help him face the crisis at home. Far from showing dissatisfaction with Tiptoft, as the Irish chroniclers declared, the King heaped upon him grants and offices. In addition to becoming Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in place of the now discredited Clarence, he was made Constable⁶ for the second time, and shortly afterwards Chamberlain of the Exchequer.⁷ Finally, only fourteen weeks before his death, Tiptoft was again made Treasurer.⁸ Some house property in the town of Southampton which had belonged to Warwick was granted to Tiptoft a few weeks after Warwick's flight, and Tiptoft succeeded naturally to the position Warwick had forfeited, that of first subject and chief adviser to the King. There may have been a certain

coolness between Edward and Tiptoft when Edward was obsessed with his wife's relations and insisted on granting them offices at the expense of his former friends, and it must be noted that Tiptoft thought it worth while to secure a general pardon in July 1467 for all offences committed by him before the preceding February,⁹ a precautionary measure in case the King's new favourites should poison his mind against the man who had served him so faithfully.

Now that he was again Treasurer, Tiptoft was more often able to attend meetings of the King's Council, which were held in the Star Chamber at Westminster; in previous years he had generally been absent on the King's business in remote quarters of the country. Tiptoft was some fifteen years older than the King, who, although he had reigned for nine troubled years, was in 1470 some months from his twenty-ninth birthday. Edward badly needed Tiptoft's support at this time, and he was glad to have someone upon whom he could throw the onus of deeds likely to cause him unpopularity. Tiptoft never made the slightest attempt to court popular favour, nor did he show any wish to justify or minimize his own severities; he probably saw through the King's efforts to use him as a cat's paw, but they did not trouble him, for he seems to have been as completely indifferent to popular opinion as he was to display of riches. Tiptoft was in some ways curiously unambitious, and sought neither high office nor wealth. His appointments were pressed upon him because of his manifest ability, they were not the fruit of intrigue. Nor did he try to augment his private fortune either from the public funds—even his bitterest enemies never hinted at this—or by engaging in commerce, as many of the nobles were wont to do; even the King himself owned several ships and took the keenest interest in their cargoes. If Tiptoft did love power, he gave no hint that this was so, although

Vespasiano, who knew him well, believed that he was blinded by ambition. 'There are many men of high estate', he wrote, 'who know not how to rule themselves within, and of such was this nobleman.'¹⁰

III

By the summer of 1470 Warwick's plans were complete. He and Clarence were to stir up a rising in Southampton preparatory to landing there with French reinforcements. This time Edward had learned his lesson. At the first hint of trouble he moved with that swiftness which on several occasions had proved so disconcerting to his enemies, and which revealed the keenness and shrewdness concealed behind his pleasant and indolent manner. Tiptoft was sent at once to Southampton with instructions to suppress the mutiny and to make an example of the rebels. By this counterstroke a large number of prisoners were taken from the ships anchored in the harbour, one of them a man named Clapham, who had caused trouble in the past but who had hitherto eluded capture, and the rest men of little account who scarcely knew what the quarrel was about; although Warkworth describes them as 'yeomen and gentylmen', they were mostly members of the ships' crews, with a few local landsmen and lesser gentry, such as Clapham.

It was an understood thing that only ringleaders should suffer the extreme penalty; even Montagu, who made a practice of slaying his prisoners after every battle, generally spared the commons and wreaked his vengeance only on the unfortunate nobles who had fallen into his hands. But on this occasion Clapham and twenty more of the prisoners were brought before Tiptoft's court, and stretching his powers as Constable to their widest extent he condemned them all to death. It was bad enough that cases of high treason should

be judged in this Court, it was worse that comparatively innocent men should suffer a horrible death, for the seamen had done little more than listen to Warwick's promises and make a half-hearted resistance to their captors.

Not only were these men executed for so slight a fault, Tiptoft determined to make of their fate a dreadful warning. It was the appalling custom of the time that victims should be hanged for a few minutes till more or less insensible, then taken down, disembowelled, quartered and beheaded. Only a few months earlier Lord Hungerford and Henry Courtenay too had been condemned to death, not by Tiptoft, and this barbarous sentence had been carried out at Bemerton after the victims had been dragged thither through the streets of Salisbury. For gruesome details of what a fifteenth-century execution could be, the reader is referred to the account given in *The Brut* chronicle of the execution of Roger Bultyngbrok for the crime of necromancy in 1441.¹¹ The Southampton prisoners, apart from Clapham who was beheaded, were 'hangede, drawne, and quartered, and hedede; and after that hanged uppe by the leggys, and a stake made scharpe at bothe endes, whereof one ende was putt in att bottokys, and the other ende ther heddes were putt uppe one.' People had grown accustomed to the sight of traitors' heads exposed upon London Bridge, or even quarters of dismembered bodies upon occasion hung from the city gates, and regarded such horrors with callous indifference, but this was something new. Possibly Tiptoft was recalling the tales he had heard at Rhodes of Turkish customs imitated by the Christian knights, though he did not go to the extreme length of torturing, as they did, living victims. The impalement of bodies and heads upon stakes in so ghastly a manner achieved all the horrifying effect that even Tiptoft hoped to produce; 'for the peple of the londe were gretely displesyd'

says Warkworth, 'and evere afterwarde the Erle of Worcestre was gretely behatede emonge the peple, for the dysordinate dethe that he used'.¹²

Soon after this event, Warkworth declares, 'there appered a blasyng starre in the weste, and the flame therof lyke a spere hede'; no doubt he meant to imply that this was a heavenly manifestation of wrath. Tiptoft meant his self-conscious display of brutality to crush the revolt at Southampton, and to all appearances it was successful, for Warwick and Clarence returned to France and the rebels were cowed into submission. But just as Tiptoft's reputation for savagery had failed him at Harlech and again in Ireland by provoking unlooked-for resistance, so did this terrible example kindle secret fear and anger in the commons' hearts.

If we compare Tiptoft with his contemporaries we do not find him, at any rate during his early years, more cruel, but he was cold and relentless where they were impulsively savage. Tiptoft never killed a personal enemy with his own hands, and his temperate behaviour towards Sir Ralph Grey is in striking contrast with the vindictiveness of Lord Clifford in crowning for the sake of mockery the severed head of Richard Duke of York with a crown of straw and paper and setting it on Micklegate Bar at York. When Louis XI entered Arras in 1477 Commines tells us that he executed many of the city's late defenders,¹³ and he ordered the cold-blooded execution of the prisoners taken by his army in Artois the same year; he was every whit as ruthless as Tiptoft and very much more cunning. In Ferrara false-coiners were burned alive and thieves were dragged through the city at a horse's tail before they were hanged,¹⁴ and in England too mutilations and burnings continued, and indeed increased in number, after the fifteenth century was spent; it was a brutal age, when human life was cheap and suffering mattered very little.

At least Tiptoft did not suffer from the disordered imagination which led Ferrante of Naples to stuff and embalm his victims and to keep them in his palace so that he could gloat over their fate. He had more affinity with another Renaissance despot, Gismondo Malatesta of Rimini, who, although guilty of great cruelties and unnatural crimes, remained a fastidious gentleman, and, himself a distinguished poet and artist, made his court one of the brightest centres of culture in the whole country.

The real fear that lay behind the protests against Tiptoft's innovations was that the old common law, which did not recognize the use of torture as a means of extorting evidence from unwilling witnesses, might be displaced by Roman or civil law which would be accompanied by torture. There was already at the Tower of London the brake or rack known as 'The Duke of Exeter's daughter',¹⁵ because it had been introduced by John Holland, Duke of Exeter, when he was Constable of the Tower under Henry VI. The use of torture was condemned in the strongest terms by Sir John Fortescue,¹⁶ the upright and stalwart Chief Justice, but nevertheless it seems that it was sometimes practised.¹⁷ There was the notorious case of Cornelius, servant of one of Margaret of Anjou's supporters, who was burned with hot irons in his feet until he accused a number of persons of treasonable communication with Queen Margaret. This occurred in 1468, when Tiptoft was in Ireland. Thus he can in no way be held responsible for either the rack or the hot irons, and these are the only two definite cases of torture that I have been able to find during these years; it was not until the following and supposedly more enlightened centuries that torture became generally employed to supplement the law.

The author of the Latin Chronicle from MS. Arundel 5, in the College of Arms, is the only writer of his time to give

the name 'decollator' to Tiptoft, and this was not written until after his death and probably during the brief Lancastrian restoration; on the previous page Tiptoft is referred to as 'worthy of great praise'.¹⁸ The first reference in English to Tiptoft's opprobrious nickname, repeated *ad nauseam* by later writers, is found in John Rastell's *Pastyme of People*,¹⁹ written a generation later and first printed in 1529. In describing Henry's restoration Rastell says: 'In the begynnynge of this readopcyon, the Erle of Worcester, whiche, for his crueltye, was called the bocher of Englande, was taken and arrayned at Westminster etc.' 'The butcher' was a good nickname for Tudor chroniclers to use, bent as they were upon blackening Yorkist rule to the glorification of their own royal house. Possibly at times this bias was unconscious; chroniclers of his own day saw Tiptoft as an ornament to his country, as a distinguished scholar, and an important man of affairs, but with the change of dynasty came a change of outlook. It was the same tradition which gave Richard III every vice known to man, as well as a mythical hump-back, that gave Tiptoft his sinister renown as a cutter-off of heads.

CHAPTER X

DEATH OF A PATRIOT

‘His diebus captus est ille trux carnifex et hominum decollator
horridus, comes de Wicchester.’

College of Arms MS. Arundel 5.

‘Item obiit . . . Dominus Iohannes Comes Wygornie Dominus de
typtof vir undecunque doctissimus omnium liberalium artium divin-
arumque simul ac secularium litterarum scientia peritissimus.’

TIPTOFT’s obit in the *Canterbury Necrology*.

I

THE ease with which he had put down the Lincolnshire rising earlier in the year, and Warwick’s failure to effect a serious rebellion at Southampton, led Edward to underestimate the strength and tenacity of his foes, and placed him in a position of false security. Commines, a most acute observer, blamed Edward severely for his lack of foresight. ‘Il n’avoit nulle
craincte’, said Commines in his *Mémoires*, ‘qui me semble, une
très grande espesse de follie, de ne craindre son ennemy ne
vouloir croire riens, veü l’appareil qu’il veoyt.’¹ For the second time in twelve months Edward IV gave way to that optimistic slothfulness which was the chief fault that prevented him from being a great king.

By September, however, even Edward had begun to grow uneasy, and fearing danger in the north, he made his way to York. Warwick’s brother-in-law, Lord Fitzhugh, had advanced from Scotland as far as Ripon, but when Edward reached York and started out for Ripon, Lord Fitzhugh sped

northwards over the border; indeed, the only object of his expedition had been to draw Edward away from London. Montagu, who had hitherto been the principal Yorkist supporter in the North, secretly resented the restoration of his title and estates to Henry Percy the rightful Earl of Northumberland, and the barren honour of his new title of Marquis was to him no honour at all. He was only waiting for his brother Warwick to land, to desert Edward, who still trusted him despite his kinship with Warwick. Edward lingered on in York, half expecting an attack to be made in that quarter and never suspecting that his enemies would make a landing on the more accessible south coast. He was still there when Warwick and his men sailed across the Channel in sixty French ships supplied by Louis XI, and landed at Dartmouth under cover of night. This was on 13 September, and the following day Warwick avowed his intention of marching to London and taking Henry VI from the Tower and setting him on the throne. Warwick had at last come to terms with Margaret of Anjou, and was now ready to show his hand.

Edward was dumbfounded by these tidings, and on reaching Doncaster he discovered that Montagu had won over his whole army, had declared for King Henry, and was advancing to take him prisoner. This was too much for Edward, and he fled, resolving to seek shelter where Warwick had found it—across the Channel, preferring it to the certainty of taking Henry's place in the Tower. In crossing the Wash by boat, Edward nearly lost his life, and several of his men were drowned, but he managed to make his way to Lynn in Norfolk, arriving there on the night of 30 September.² Anthony Woodville, now Lord Rivers, had an estate close by, at Middleton Castle, six miles from Lynn, and he joined Edward as soon as he could. Only a few ships were available,

and they were mere fishing-boats, so that it was impossible to embark all the men, few as they were. After waiting vainly for two days in the hope of better news, or reinforcements, or assistance of any kind, Edward lost heart, and climbing on board his humble craft he set sail for Flanders, where he meant to take refuge with his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy.³ Commines says that Edward and his men had with them nothing but the clothes they stood up in, and that they scarcely knew where they were going, they were in such sorry plight.⁴

In the meantime, Tiptoft was hurrying to Edward's help with a large sum of money taken from the Treasury, and a handful of followers. He had lost touch with the King, but guessed that he would make for the Norfolk coast, and probably for Lynn, which was the obvious port to choose. It was clear that others besides himself would anticipate Edward's action, and that Montagu's men were likely to be close on his heels—for they had only missed him at Doncaster by a few hours—and so it behoved Tiptoft to move very warily. The way lay through his own country, and he took cover in the forest of Weybridge, of which he was hereditary Forester. There was plenty of shelter in the forest, which was wild and tangled, and plenty of game if they dared to hunt it for food. Indeed, there were enough wild beasts to make journeying through forest-land dangerous for unarmed wayfarers, and once some pilgrims who lost their way were so frightened when night fell that they climbed tall trees 'for fere of bestis'.⁵ Tiptoft and his men were armed, but they were few in number, and their fear was not of 'bestis', however ferocious, but of Montagu's soldiers, for they did not know that Montagu was obeying his brother's orders to remain in the North.

Other Lancastrian forces, however, cut off the way to Lynn

and safety, and when he found himself dangerously close to these troops, although he was only a mile or two from his own manor of Burwell, not far from Huntingdon, Tiptoft joined a band of shepherds whom he chanced to meet, and he and his men disguised themselves—no doubt with the time-honoured walnut juice—and decided to wait upon events. All might have been well, but one of the shepherds went to a farm nearby to buy bread for the party, and the large quantity he bought, and the fact that he paid for it with a gold piece, excited the suspicion of the farmer, who sent for men at arms from the Lancastrian army, and these secretly followed the man back to the shepherds' camp. Something about Tiptoft's bearing, perhaps the respect with which he was treated, told the watchers that here was no shepherd, and they went back for reinforcements. The unsuspecting shepherds were surrounded, and Tiptoft was taken prisoner.⁶

When the Lancastrians realized how illustrious was their captive, they were overjoyed, and delighted, too, to seize the treasure intended for Edward IV. The news of Tiptoft's capture flew hither and thither, and was the signal for great rejoicing. It seems to have been taken for granted that he would be put to death; John Paston was expressing a popular belief when he wrote to his wife on 12 October, 'The Erle of Wyrcester is lyek to die this day or tomorrow at the furthest.'⁷ The Milanese ambassador at the French Court also wrote from Tours on 20 October to tell the Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza that the Grand Constable of England had been captured and executed forthwith.⁸ Tiptoft was not tried until the 15th and was only executed on the 18th of that month, and the news can hardly have reached Tours in two days, so it must have been an assumption on the part of the ambassador, who added, inaccurately, that King Edward had thereupon

given up further effort and had escaped to Flanders in a fishing-boat. Edward had been in Flanders for at least a fortnight before this date, and knew nothing of Tiptoft's difficulties.

II

Warwick, fearing lest his illustrious prisoner should escape, determined to lose no time in bringing him to trial. Tiptoft was accordingly taken to London and arraigned at Westminster, on a general charge of treason, before John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford. John de Vere was the second son of the twelfth Earl, whom Tiptoft had condemned immediately after his appointment as Constable. This John de Vere had nearly suffered his father's fate in 1468, when he was arrested on suspicion of conspiring in Henry's favour. On this occasion, however, he turned King's evidence and confessed 'myche thing',⁹ saving his own life at the cost of the execution of three other men. He was pardoned, but later threw in his lot with Warwick, and when on 13 October 1470 Henry VI was led in triumphal procession to St. Paul's, Oxford marched with him, bearing the sword of state.¹⁰

Three days later he sat in judgment upon Tiptoft. The charge of 'treason' might as well have been one of heresy or black magic, everyone knew that Tiptoft would be condemned because he was the most dangerous and the most powerful Yorkist in the country, incorruptibly loyal to the absent Edward. The irony of the situation appealed to the chroniclers, one of whom writes with glee 'and so the Erle of Worcetre was juged be suche lawe as he dyde to other menne'.¹¹ Tiptoft's condemnation to death was greeted by the Irish chroniclers with an outburst of rejoicing, and one and all persisted in regarding the verdict as an act of vengeance

for Desmond's death. The Tudor historian, Hall,¹² repeated this tale, and an echo of it is found in the *Mirrour for Magistrates*, which describes 'The Infamous end of the Lord Tiptofte Earl of Worcester for cruelly executing his Prince's Butcherly Commandements'.

Tiptoft accepted the verdict with perfect composure, and withdrew to prison to spend the short interval before his execution in prayer, meditation and the disposal of his goods. 'I am enformed', wrote Caxton in his Epilogue to the *Declamacion*, 'he ryght advysedly ordeyned alle hys thynges as well for his last will of worldly goodes as for his sowle helthe, & pacyently and holyly without grudchyng in charyte to fore that he departed out of this world, whiche is gladsome and Joyous to here.' Tiptoft showed here the same dignity and personal courage which had marked his whole career. In facing death he had something of the spirit of the Lollard John Goose who ate a hearty meal just before he was to be burned at the stake, remarking 'I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shower or I go to supper'.¹³

While Tiptoft lay in gaol, a special scaffold was being built upon Tower Hill, of elaborate construction and design, and when it was finished it was covered with beautiful carpets and decked with tapestries 'and other ornaments'. The admiration and respect which Tiptoft inspired, not only in his friends but in his enemies as well, were reflected in the arrangements made for his execution. There was to be nothing ignominious about it, it was to be a state occasion. In contrast to this, when Lord Audley was taken to execution at the same spot, seventeen years later, he was made to wear a coat of arms made of paper, torn to shreds, to show in what contempt such a traitor was held.¹⁴ In Italy, too, Macchiavelli tells us that far greater vindictiveness was shown to the un-

fortunate podesta of Galeata, Zanobi dal Pino, whose own servants turned against him, kept him in a dungeon, and gave him nothing to eat except pieces of paper with snakes painted on them, 'so that he soon died'.¹⁵

The trial took place on Saturday, and the preparations for the execution were hurried on over the weekend, so that the stage was set for Monday afternoon. Accordingly, on that day, 17 October, Tiptoft was taken from Westminster to travel on foot to Tower Hill. The narrow streets were thronged with people anxious to catch a glimpse of the man whose name was on everyone's lips, and those behind pushed and struggled so that the procession could only force its way with the greatest difficulty along the Strand, and at the foot of Ludgate Hill the crowd became so dense that further progress was impossible, and Tiptoft's guards were obliged to take him to spend the night in the Fleet prison, while the execution was postponed until next day.

The following day, the feast of St. Luke, the procession set out anew, and reached the foot of the scaffold without mishap in the early afternoon. Vespasiano tells us¹⁶ that Tiptoft was accompanied by a number of priests, both English and Italian; it is possible that one of these gave him an eye-witness account of Tiptoft's last hour. An Italian Dominican, 'a man of splendid presence and of great eloquence', walked beside him and reasoned with him, pointing out that he had reached his present desperate position through his own fault, that he had committed great cruelties, urged thereto by his lust for power, and that St. Jerome had said that no righteous man ever came to a bad end, which was the fruit of impiety and cruelty. To all this, Tiptoft had but one answer: that what he had done had been for the good of the State, and with these words he mounted the scaffold.

With great composure and dignity, Tiptoft, a stylist to the

end, turned to the executioner and invited him to cut off his head with three strokes instead of one, 'in honour of the Trinity and as a sign of his faith'. To this suggestion the executioner obligingly agreed. 'This was indeed', says Vespasiano, 'a sign of his excellent faith and the greatness of his spirit.' So perished this remarkable man in the forty-fourth year of his age. His calmness and fortitude made a lasting impression upon all who saw it, and some ten years later Caxton wrote of '. . . his deth, At whiche . . . euery man that was there myght lerne to dye and take his deth paciently, wherein I hope and doubte not, But that god receyued his soule in to his evirlastyng blysse. . . .' ¹⁷

There can be no doubt that Tiptoft was sincere in his belief that his actions had been for the good of the State, and that he had faithfully served his King and his native land. From one point of view he appears a forerunner of the able servants of the new autocracy, the first of the Tudor statesmen, the spiritual ancestor of Strafford. It is impossible to judge Tiptoft without considering the abnormal times in which he lived, times which demanded swift action and ruthless vigour. It was a curious age, when simple kindness could co-exist with inhuman barbarity, religious fervour with callous indifference, and when coarseness and lust might go hand in hand with fastidious refinement. Certainly Tiptoft was not a paragon, nor was he a monster: he was a man born out of his age and out of his country, for he had far more in common with Italians than with Englishmen. This was dimly recognized by his foes, and when they exclaimed that he was judging by Paduan law, what they really meant was that he was un-English both in character and methods. He had assimilated ideas foreign to English notions of justice and procedure, ideas of state-craft which were waiting to be crystallized by Macchiavelli in his immortal treatise; Tiptoft would have

agreed that it would be well to be both loved and feared, 'but if circumstances force a choice, then it is better to be feared'.¹⁸

III

After the execution, Tiptoft's body and head were taken to Black Friars and there buried. According to one report,¹⁹ the body was 'obscure sepultus', but Warkworth says that 'his body and his hede were buryede togedyr at the Black Frerys in Londone, with alle the honoure and worschyppe that his frendes coude do';²⁰ his enemies did not even claim his head as a trophy to be set upon London Bridge. Tiptoft's second sister, Joanna Ingoldesthorpe, put up a tablet to his memory, bearing this inscription: 'Fecit hunc capellam Joanna D. Inguldesthoppe, soror Joannis comitis, cum quo hic requiescit.'²¹

It seems probable that the glass windows presented to the church of Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen in Norfolk by Isabella Ingoldesthorpe, Tiptoft's ward whom he married to John Neville, Lord Montagu, were given as a memorial to her uncle. She seems to have been the donor in 1470 of the tracery lights of the windows of the north aisle, and her arms²² are found on the south porch and elsewhere, together with the badge of Edward IV. Much of this glass still exists; the lights show a series of small figures of saints with their names beneath them, and several of them are very unusual.²³ The connection with Tiptoft's memory is suggested by the inclusion of St. Prosdocimus, the first Bishop of Padua, who with his disciple St. Guistina was the chief saint of Padua before the canonization of St. Antonio; his relics are still preserved in a side altar dedicated to him in the splendid church of St. Guistina, and it is highly probable that Tiptoft had worshipped there during his sojourn in Padua. Possibly,

all the saints represented are those in whom Tiptoft was interested; they include some figures very unusual in English medieval art, among them St. Hippolytus the learned Bishop of Porto and disciple of Clement of Alexandria, and Januarius the patron saint of Naples. Other Italian saints are the Popes Calixtus and Sixtus III, and Hilary Bishop of Aquileia, Germanus Bishop of Capua and St. Brice, or Brizio, the Apostle of Umbria and patron saint of Spoleto. Most of these were greatly distinguished for their learning, and worthy to rank with them are the two British saints, the scholarly Aldhelm and the holy Cuthbert. The selection is unconventional and suggests that Isabella perhaps shared her uncle's uncommon and specialized tastes.

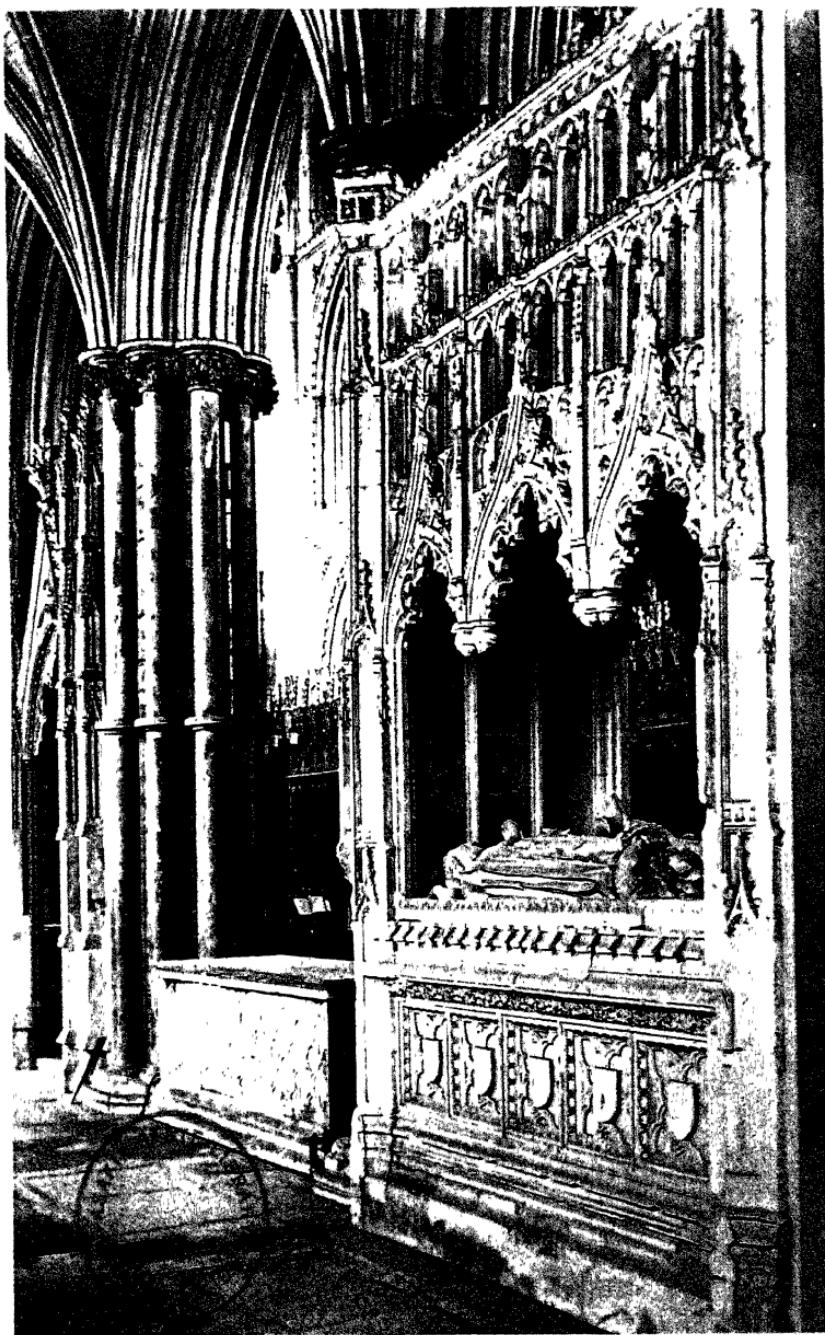
Although Tiptoft's bones lie in Black Friars, there is a cenotaph erected in his honour to be seen in Ely Cathedral. In the south aisle, opposite the well-known tomb of Bishop Gunning, there is a very fine late fifteenth-century monument with a recumbent effigy of Tiptoft, a wife on either side. This monument bears the arms of Tiptoft and Powys, several times repeated. Some critics have affirmed that the effigy represents Sir John Tiptoft, father of the first Earl of Worcester; others claim it for his son Edward. Even so recently as 1914 a biographer of Tiptoft²⁴ has declared that in spite of the heraldry, which clearly points to Worcester, the effigy is really of Sir John Tiptoft. This is quite impossible as Sir John was only twice married, and his second wife outlived him by some years; moreover she was, as we have seen, buried at Enfield. Still less likely is it that the effigy represents the boy Edward, for he died when he was only seventeen, in 1485, and he was never married at all. On the other hand, Tiptoft 'of goodly memory', or 'the bocher of England', was married three times and two of his wives predeceased him. There can be no reasonable doubt that this

monument was erected to his memory.²⁵ Further, the architecture points plainly to the latter half of the fifteenth century, and according to expert opinion it can scarcely have been erected before 1450 or after 1480.

As a rule, these effigies were no more than a conventional rendering of a man of suitable rank; sometimes many were made from one model, with a mitre for a Bishop and a coronet for an Earl, and so on. In 1453 a London founder agreed to cast an effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, simply as 'the image of a man armed according to patterns'.²⁶ In the case of royalty, however, or men of great distinction, the effigy was sometimes taken from life, and in this particular case it is hard to believe that the effigy is not a genuine portrait, for it is a very individual piece of work, unusual in form, and the head has very strongly marked characteristics seldom seen in work of this kind.

The effigy is in an excellent state of preservation. Like most freestone sculpture of the period, it was probably originally covered with gesso and brilliantly coloured, though all trace of colour has now disappeared. A flake has come off Tiptoft's gauntleted left hand, and the face of one of his wives has almost perished, otherwise there is little amiss; if any restoration has been done, it defies detection to-day. The coronet and Tiptoft's features are extraordinarily well preserved, and the face and jaw are beautifully modelled and full of quiet character. It is an austere face, stern as might be expected, with nothing sensual or brutish about it. There is refinement and dignity in the rather heavily lined face, the compressed lips and firm chin tell their own tale, and the straight nose and large eyes set wide apart suggest that an attractive appearance may have helped Tiptoft to win his oratorical triumphs.

The Tiptoft saltire is seen on the bosses of Tiptoft's armour, and round his neck he wears an SS collar. This decoration,



TIPTOFT'S MONUMENT AT ELY

which had no connection with the collar of the Order of the Garter, was an ornamental chain composed of a number of S's, either joined together or, as in this case, side by side, lying in a row on a band of ribbon. Practically nothing is known of the origin, meaning or significance of the SS collar, but it is sometimes thought that the S may stand for either 'Soverayne' or for 'Sanctus'.²⁷ It was worn by women as well as by men; both John Beaufort the first Duke of Somerset and his wife Margaret wore it, as is shown by their effigies in Wimborne Minster; figures of the Duke and Duchess are found in the stained glass in the east window of Landbeach Church in Cambridgeshire, with the words 'Souvent me Souvient' beneath: this suggests a third interpretation of the SS. The collar seems to have had, at any rate originally, some connection with the House of Lancaster, for many of the early wearers were Lancastrian supporters. It is not found earlier than 1391.²⁸ Possibly it was originally a Lancastrian symbol and was afterwards adopted by the Yorkists as an alternative to their own collar of suns and roses, for other supporters of Edward IV besides Tiptoft are shown wearing it. In this case it would be a family, or livery, collar, and all friends and partisans of the royal family would be entitled to wear it.

As Joanna Ingoldesthorpe put up her tablet over Tiptoft's grave, it is not likely that she had anything to do with the monument at Ely, and there is no reason to connect with it either of his other sisters, Philippa Roos or Joyce Dudley. It is far more probable that it was erected by Bishop Gray as a tribute to his friend. Gray was the older man, but he outlived Tiptoft by seven or eight years.²⁹ Although they were not together in Italy, for Gray had returned home before Tiptoft arrived, both had studied under Guarino, and they had a common interest in encouraging the efforts of John

Free, and both were patrons of letters and discriminating book collectors, although their tastes ran along different lines. Even if he had not known Tiptoft personally, Gray must have admired his scholarship since it was praised so highly by people whose opinion he valued; as a matter of fact, the two men were friends as well as fellow-students, and Tiptoft had been instrumental in securing for Gray the bishopric of Ely in 1454,³⁰ a compensation for his disappointment four years earlier, when Pope Nicholas V had unsuccessfully tried to provide him to Lincoln.

IV

When Tiptoft was executed he was not attainted, and so, although his honours were forfeited, most of his estates passed to his son Edward, then only fifteen months old. His widow was married again, about a year later, to the infamous Sir William Stanley. He identified himself with the Yorkist cause when it was quite clear that Edward IV led the winning side, he deserted Richard III in the middle of the battle of Bosworth when the battle seemed to be going against him, then, not content with the rewards and favours pressed upon him by Henry Tudor, he joined Perkin Warbeck. This time fortune deserted him, and he found himself on the losing side; he was beheaded in 1497. The boy Edward Tiptoft never reached maturity; he died 12 August 1485³¹ when he was barely sixteen, and the earldom of Worcester became extinct while the Barony of Tiptoft fell into abeyance among his aunts.³²

Edward IV soon won back his kingdom, but he never again found a servant who would carry out his wishes so thoroughly, or who cared so little for popular favour. Tiptoft was mourned not only by the Canterbury monks he had

befriended, but by Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and by his many friends in England and Italy as well, and, indeed, by all who cared for scholarship. Fuller gives him a high place among the Worthies of England,³³ and says with his happy turn of phrase, 'Then did the axe at one [sic] blow cut off more learning than was left in the heads of all the surviving nobility.'

CHAPTER XI

TIPTOFT'S LIBRARY

‘Italiae bibliothecas spoliavit, ut pulcherrimis librorum monumentis
Angliam exornet.’

LODOVICO CARBONE: *Funeral oration on Guarino.*

I

‘I SHALL shewe you my lyberarye’, said Gayus Flammīneus, ‘wel stuffed with fayre books of Greke and Latine, wherunto in every aduersyte is my chief resorte for counselle and conforte.’¹ Only a few of the books remain to which Tiptoft resorted for counsel and comfort, but his choice of authors and the arrangement and very individual style of decoration in these manuscripts tell us something of Tiptoft’s personal taste and preferences, and prove him to have been a man of alert and original mind, able to appreciate the best classical authors, and showing discrimination in his selection of the works of his contemporaries.

Before he went to Italy Tiptoft possessed at least three books, two of which came into his possession through his first wife, Cecily Neville. In the British Museum there is a handsome copy of John Lydgate’s *Fall of Princes*, a popular fifteenth-century work based on Boccaccio’s *De Casibus Virorum*. On the border of fo. 1 is a coat of arms in triple impalement, suggesting that the book was made for Cecily Neville after her second marriage. In the centre are the arms of Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, (1) Beauchamp, (2) Clare, (3) Despenser, (4) Newburgh, and dexter her own

arms which were, quarterly, argent, three lozenges in fesse gules (for Montague) and or, an eagle displayed vert (for Monthermer). Sinister, these arms are in the first quarter, with the Neville arms (gules, a saltire argent, with a label) in the second and third quarters, and in the fourth the Tiptoft arms as borne by the Earl of Worcester.

The book is a large folio, forty-two lines to the page, on vellum, in double columns, written in an English hand of the first half of the fifteenth century. The decoration is English; there are several fine borders with foliage in rather dull colours. Folio 112 has a pretty whole border with large light blue flowers in a gold frame, with flourishings of brown and green. In the sixteenth century it seems to have been owned by the Elleker family, connections of the Cliffords, and afterwards belonged to John, Lord Lumley. It is now Royal MS. 18. D. IV.²

As the widow of Henry Beauchamp, no doubt Cecily Neville possessed his Psalter and Book of Hours. This is a very fine manuscript, of English work, with Italian additions of a later date. It is thought probable³ that she bequeathed it to Tiptoft and that he took it with him to Italy and perhaps made a present of it to one of his Italian friends, for the additions were made long after Tiptoft's departure from Italy, indeed, some ten years after his death.

One of the Harley MSS. (103) once belonged to Tiptoft and was given by him to someone unknown, or possibly it may have been part of his bequest to Oxford. It was written, however, in England in the fourteenth century; it is a volume of miscellanea containing fourteen items. Two tracts on health are followed by the *Proverbs* of Seneca, *Meditations* of SS. Bernard, Anselm, and Augustine, an anonymous sermon on Chastity, and finally the *Tractatus de Purgatorio S. Patricii*. The capitals are in blue and red, and there is a little rather

heavy decoration, English style, at the beginning and on fo. 85. There are annotations in three different hands, and someone has inserted a number of grotesques—comic heads with long noses and red-spotted cheeks. The book has ii. + 134 folios, and on the first is written in a mid-fifteenth-century hand :

‘Ex dono illustrissimi Johannis Comitis Wigornie domini
Tiptot depollis [sic] 1470.’

These three books were all such as any gentleman or rich merchant might possess ; they can hardly be regarded as the nucleus of Tiptoft’s library, which he did not seriously begin to collect until he went to Italy. It was the great age of libraries, formed by princes and Popes and, to the limit of their means, by all men of letters. The collection of Federigo da Montefeltro is said to have cost him as much as 30,000 ducats, for ‘he did not regard cost or anything, and when he knew there was a fine book either in Italy or out of Italy, he sent for it’. Still more magnificent was the great collection made by Matthias Corvinus, of which only 139 volumes are known to exist to-day, scattered all over Europe. The Vatican Library, stocked with learning and taste by Nicholas V, was enlarged by Sixtus IV and his librarian Platina, while in 1452 Domenico Malatesta Novello built and furnished the beautiful library at Cesena, designed by Matteo Nuzio of Fano.⁴

Not only the wealthy collected books ; Panormita (Antonio Beccadelli) gladly sold his farm to procure the 120 florins wherewith to buy from Poggio the *Livy* he desired, and Giovanni Andrea, afterwards Bishop of Aleria and editor of the first printed edition of Cicero’s *Epistolæ*, spent so much money on books that he could not pay for the shaving of his beard.⁵ Tiptoft had not the wealth of Corvinus, but like Nicholas V ‘he was determined that all the books that were

produced for him should be of the finest in every respect'. Each book, even in the small proportion of his library that remains to-day, has a special quality which gives to the collection a peculiar interest.

II

Neither Suetonius nor Tacitus was among the popular classical historians in medieval times⁶; Tiptoft showed some originality in choosing two of their minor works for his library: the *De Claris Grammaticis Rhetoribusque* of Suetonius and the *Dialogus de Oratoribus Claris* of Tacitus. These opuscula are contained in a small manuscript of forty-three leaves, now MS. Harley 2639 at the British Museum. It is written on parchment in an Italian hand of fair quality, very much contracted. Only the first initial of each work is illuminated, the first with a partial border, the second merely has a capital S on a parti-coloured ground with a few gold balls roughly outlined and scrolled in brown ink. The ordinary capitals are lightly and artistically decorated with simple pen-strokes in mauve and green. A few headings and annotations are in red. There are few marginal notes, none, apparently, in Tiptoft's hand: he had not the habit of writing comments in his books, nor did he sign his name in any of those MSS. which bear his arms.

The scanty decoration on fo. 2 shows signs of haste; on the last page is written, beneath a few lines from the poet Maffeo Vegio,⁷ the inscription 4. A. [August?] 1462. The book may have been finished on that date; if so, it must have been sent to Tiptoft after his return to England: this would dispose of the theory that it is one of those books ordered from Vespasiano for which he 'tarried several days' in Florence,⁸ impatiently waiting for their completion.

If this manuscript did come from Vespasiano's workshop, it fell very far below his normal standard, for the design of the ornament is poor, the colour muddy, and the detail scrambled and messy. The white branch-work is heavily shaded with brown, contrary to the usual convention, and the interstices are coloured dark purplish-red, dull blue, and pale olive-green. Neither the choice of colours nor the drawing of the vine-tendril design suggests Florentine work; certainly there is none of the delicate precision associated with Vespasiano's products, and the strong heavy colours are more suggestive of the Ferrarese than of the Florentine style.

There is no evidence to show whether the book was written specially for Tiptoft, or casually bought by him, for his coat of arms at the foot of fo. 2 may have been added afterwards. It is practically certain, however, that the wreath with Tiptoft's arms was drawn by the artist who illuminated his other MSS., for the background is stippled in a very curious and apparently unique manner, possibly in imitation of marble. There is a wreath of bay-leaves in bluish-green, with a scarlet strapping at top and bottom, and gold balls in groups of three at regular intervals.

Tiptoft's coat of arms is as displayed in his stall-plate (see frontispiece) and is surmounted by his crest, the griffin's head and the mantling being in strong blue. The drawing is competent, though roughly finished. The background within the wreath is grey, flecked or stippled in mauve, green, and brownish-red. I have not been able to find any other instance of this form of decoration beyond the books once in Tiptoft's library, and it seems clear that he employed some special artist who worked in this very individual style. In quality the work is not to be compared with that in the MSS. written by Ciriagio, nor are any of Tiptoft's books in so good a hand as that of Antonio di Mario, another Florentine notary who

wrote a number of MSS. for William Gray. Unlike Tiptoft's anonymous scribe, this Antonio generally wrote a colophon giving the date and often some kindly message such as: 'Lege feliciter, mi suavissime Gulielme'.

III

The most important and perhaps the most interesting of all Tiptoft's manuscripts is his copy of the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius, now MS. Auct. F. 1. 13 in the Bodleian, sometimes cited as 'Codex Tiptoftii'. A ninth-century codex of Lucretius was discovered by Poggio at Constance, and he brought it in triumph to Florence, where several copies were made. When Tiptoft was in Italy, Lucretius was still very little known; Tiptoft's book, which was probably copied from the Niccoli MS. now in the Laurentiana, was almost certainly made in Florence, and is important as a close descendant from Poggio's codex, now no longer extant. N. H. Romanes, in his *Notes on the Text of Lucretius*,⁹ has worked out a genealogy, and makes Tiptoft's copy a twin of MS. Canonici Lat. 32, also in the Bodleian. It clearly shows in what close touch Tiptoft was with contemporary scholarship that he should have chosen a text that had been discovered only a few years earlier. Most book collectors were content to buy the best-known works of standard authors; Cicero, Virgil, Ovid and Valerius Maximus being chief favourites, but Tiptoft disregarded convention and bought what interested him. Unlike Duke Humphrey's library, which was primarily intended to be a gift to Oxford, Tiptoft's was a personal collection illustrating his individual taste and predilections.

MS. Auct. F. 1. 13 is written on parchment in a bold Italian hand, with very wide margins. Lucretius' poem *De Rerum Natura* ends on fo. 122, and sixty-three hexameters on the

winds follow, in the same hand. On fo. 1 there is a border on the left-hand side rising from a blue two-handled vase and running at a right angle along the top. The vase is an unusual feature at this time, particularly in conjunction with a vine-tendril design. The branch-work is better in design and much more carefully executed than in the *Suetonius*, and the interstices are filled with clearer colours, though the same peculiar crimson is used here and there. The initial A is of strong blue, formed by scrolled foliage on a square background of green drapery. The other capitals are formed in the same way, of blue foliage sometimes touched with silver or gold. Instead of a background of drapery these all have stippled grounds, mulberry colour with stippling of red, pink, light yellow, and grey. The effect is very rich. There are eight of these; the lesser capitals are in plain colours, red or blue, well proportioned and carefully drawn.

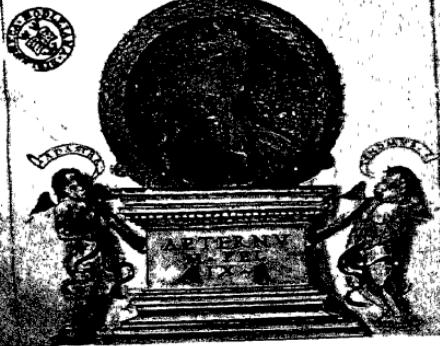
At the foot of fo. 1 two putti support a marble altar bearing the inscription *AETERNVM FELIX*, while over their heads float two scrolls with the motto: 'Ad astra tendemus'. Above the altar is a dark blue wreath surrounding Tiptoft's arms, as in the other MSS. The background is stippled as in MS. Harley 2639, though in richer colours, on a dark dull-red ground. It is stronger in tone than the backgrounds of the capitals, but similar in technique.

IV

Little is known of the provenance of the *Lucretius*; it was given to Bodley in 1610 by one Jana Owen, but how she acquired it cannot be traced. The only one of Tiptoft's books that has remained undisturbed in the Bodleian is MS. Arch. Seld. B. 50, a rare commentary on Juvenal by Ognibene da Lonigo. It was recognized as Tiptoft's, from the coat of arms, by the antiquary Thomas Hearne.¹⁰ There is a note in a late

Incidit genitrix horum diuinorum volvitur
Alma uenit celum subter latenter signa
que inire si uincit, quicquid frugifer
ecelebra, paret quoniam genitrix omne in ibi
cepit in ibi, sitque exortu lumine solis

Te dea te fugiunt uenti te nubili celi
Aduentus tuo tibi suus diuulsi tellus
Submittit flores, tibi rident, requiri ponti
Olicitumq; nitet, diffusus lumen, exulta
Cum simus in specie calefacti, et ueni die
Ex crescenti uiget genitilis, uita sonori
Aerie primum uolueret te diu, et aumq;
Significant natu petulante cordi tui uis
Nide ferre recudes per luctantem pubul, lata
Ex rapidis temeritatis, ita capta lepore
Exequitur cupide, quicquid inducere pugnus
Deniq; pugnatio, ac montis fluctuoso caput
Fondit, serisque domos, uiam, aperte, uite
Omnibus inclinans blandum praetorium, incepit
Emissus cupide generatum sceli propagari
Quia quoniam tecum natura soli quiesceret
Ile sine te quicquid diu, et lumen, et oris
Exortu neq; sit letum, neq; imitabile genitrix
Ex hoc in studio scribundis ueribus esse
Quos ego de ceterum uirtutum pingere conor
Memini, ide nostro que tu de te tempe momi
Omnibus ornata, uolasti excellere rebus
Quoniamq; eternum dicitis diu, et leporem
Effice, ut mtercesseris monera militum
Perniciu, ac terris omnis, spiriti, quiescere
Nimis uolati potes tranquilli pax ualere
Mortalis quoniam bellistris moneta, mactis



fifteenth-century hand saying that the MS. formerly belonged to Tiptoft and was given by him to the University 'to be chained in the library'. No clue to the authorship of this commentary is given in the MS. ; it was identified by Mr. Lobel as the work of Ognibene from another copy in the Malatesta library at Cesena.¹¹

Ognibene da Lonigo, or 'Omnibonus Leonicenus', was born at Lonigo in 1412. When he was about thirteen years old Ognibene went to Mantua, where he was brought up in the school kept by Vittorino da Feltre, a man of great charm and gentleness, full of common-sense and sympathy, and an excellent scholar.¹² Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua, could have chosen no better tutor for his children, and he was wise enough to leave their education entirely in Vittorino's hands and to allow him to admit intelligent boys to his school, sons of poor parents, who learnt with the Gonzaga children on level terms. Ognibene became a close friend of the young Lodovico Gonzaga,¹³ and often refers to their companionship in his letters and elsewhere. He was a brilliant boy and learnt Greek with enthusiasm and ease. While he was still at school he translated Plutarch's life of Camillus for the Lord of Mantua, and others of his translations from Greek into Latin included Aesop's *Fables* and various works of SS. Chrysostom, Basil and Athanasius, several of them made at this time. He remained on friendly terms with the Gonzaga family and later became the tutor of Lodovico's son Federigo, for whom he wrote a Latin grammar.

Ognibene divided his time between Vicenza, where he made his home, and Mantua, Venice and Padua. For the most part he stayed quietly in Vicenza, teaching on the lines of his own master Vittorino, and writing numerous commentaries on the Latin poets, and translations of Cicero, Quintilian and Terence. He never became involved in the acrimonious quarrels so

common among humanists, he was content to live quietly and unambitiously, to write Latin with a certain elegance, and to put his best efforts into helping and training young scholars. He died about the year 1480.

At some time, perhaps on one of his visits to Padua, Ognibene met Tiptoft, or perhaps he merely heard of his fame as scholar and patron, for he dedicated to him his translation of a short work of Xenophon: *De Venatione Libellum*.¹⁴ His dedicatory letter contains the customary compliments and eulogies—Tiptoft is compared to Regulus, Cato and Marcellus; his justice equals that of Camillus; in magnificence he vies with Lucullus. The letter is short and is no more than a conventional and gracefully expressed intimation that the writer is grateful for past favours, or anxious to receive patronage, and is prepared to undertake any further commissions for so generous a scholar. If Tiptoft was in touch with Ognibene it would explain why he bought his commentary on Juvenal. It may even have been composed for him, though it would be rash to suppose that this was so without any evidence to support such a theory.

The Bodleian manuscript is written on parchment in a good humanistic hand with few distinguishing characteristics. The text begins at fo. 3, which has a full border with Tiptoft's arms enclosed in a wreath at the foot. The top has been ruthlessly cut down, all that remains of the original design is little more than half an inch deep. Four amorini with green wings are disporting themselves against a blue background. The side borders are much rubbed, but enough remains to show an intricate design in strong blue, with green foliage and reddish brown fruits. The groundwork is stippled in red, grey, and pale yellow on the usual deep purplish crimson ground.

At the foot two satyrs with golden horns and golden

trumpet support the wreath with golden chains from their necks. The background is a simple landscape, with a vivid blue sky shading to pale grey, and in bright green grass there are small red and white flowers. The griffin's head and the arms are very delicately drawn, and the whole effect must have been striking and unusual when it was freshly painted. The capitals are very like those in the *Lucretius*, formed of foliage and set on square stippled grounds. The Q on fo. 21^v is formed by a blue wreath identical in form and colour with the wreath enclosing the arms in MS. Auct. F. 1. 13, though smaller in size. There can be little doubt that these two MSS. were decorated by the same hand.

V

The ornament in five of Tiptoft's Italian MSS. is more or less architectural in character, and this is curious, for in Florence architectural detail was not generally used until some twenty years later. The chief feature of Florentine work was the rhythmic branch-work design, with spontaneous variations according to the taste of the artist. The grotesque ornaments of medieval times were replaced by pseudo-classical figures of satyrs, centaurs and sirens. Putti are found where a century before there would have been gnomes or devils.¹⁵ Toward the end of the century the style began to change; a new and much heavier type of ornament was introduced by Mazzeo Felice and others, with architectural features in strong colours, vases, cornices and medallions embedded in intricate geometrical designs, with a much more lavish use of gold and a corresponding decrease in delicacy and subtlety of design. This new phase of taste owed something to the influence of Mantegna and Cosimo Tura, which was strongly felt at Ferrara and at Padua, and it may have spread thence

to Florence. It is, however, dangerous to generalize on such a point, for each illuminator worked according to his individual fancy or to please the taste of some special client.

One thing is clear, that Tiptoft must have bought a considerable number of books in Florence, and yet only one of his extant MSS. was certainly written there. No doubt he also bought books in Padua, Ferrara and Rome as well; it is quite possible that he met some artist whose work pleased him in one of these cities and that he adopted him into his household, as did Bishop Gray when he found Werken of Abbenbroeck in Cologne. Werken was so sensitive to influences around him that his hand actually changed as he moved from place to place, and as soon as he had crossed the Alps his natural Gothic began to fade into the humanistic hand in which he wrote Gray's later MSS.

In the most attractive of all Tiptoft's MSS., the *Astronomicon* of Basinio of Parma¹⁶ (MS. Bodl. 646), the signature 'Ang. Aquil.' is found in silver letters on the verso of the purple-stained fo. 1. This suggests the name Angelo Aquilano or Angelo da Aquila, and it is possible that we have here the name of Tiptoft's artist and the inventor of these stippled backgrounds. In 1468 one Silvestro de Pacis dall'Aquila, with his three nephews, was working in Rome for Paul II, apparently as a goldsmith, for he was carrying on the 'artem aurifabri' with skill and distinction. One of these nephews was named Angelo, and he seems to have been the 'magister Angelo' who made gold and silver medals for this Pope.¹⁷ A goldsmith, however, is not likely to have been at any time an illuminator of manuscripts; a more probable identification is with the Angelo Aquilano who corresponded with Guarino da Verona and about whom nothing further is known.

The title-page of the *Astronomicon* is a gorgeous affair. The ground is vivid blue, and in the centre is a palm-tree



BASINII
PARMEN
SIS.ASTR
ONOMI
CON.LI
BERA T.

THE ASTRONOMICON : MS. Bodl : 646

with green stem, and leaves and fruits in gold and brown. On either side is a large crimson vase, more elaborate than the single vase in the Lucretius, but similar in character. Two putti are peeping round a scroll, which they hold in the centre, bearing the words **BASINII PARMENSIS ASTRONOMICON LIBER I.** This decoration is carried on a marble plinth, of pale green shading to yellow, veined with reddish brown. In the centre, grey and silver concentric rings enclose Tiptoft's arms and crest, with a stippled background rather darker in tone than that in the Lucretius. The whole effect is rich and glowing; it is a fine artistic achievement, only spoiled by the coarse pen-work in which some later hand has outlined the putti.

The real beauty of the book, however, lies in the delicately drawn illustrations to Book I. There are thirty-eight coloured drawings and two diagrams of the constellations and signs of the zodiac. The stars are shown in gold. On fo. 7 is a magnificent Hercules, with lion-skin and an umbrella-like club, and on the next page a Cygnus drawn with great spirit and wit. The animals are well drawn too, an ethereal Pegasus on fo. 13 and a pink greyhound for *Canis* on fo. 14. A picture of the *Navis Argo* shows a very round medieval ship with a huge crows' nest and two steering-oars. Other mythical creatures, on fols. 15^v and 16, are a centaur with a heavily-built equine body and donkey's tail, and *Hydra*, who is a grass-green winged dragon with a knotted neck but only one head. *Leo*, heavily bearded and moustached, faces *Virgo*, who has white wings and a bunch of flowers. *Andromeda* and *Perseus* (in blue armour and pink boots) show no fear of a very pallid *Medusa*'s head, and *Aquarius* on fo. 20^v pours green water from a crimson jug in a nonchalant manner. These illustrations are quite charming, and the Italic hand in which the manuscript is written is good and clear.

The poem itself is interesting in many ways. Basinio's interest in astronomy was not merely a continuation of medieval preoccupation with superstitious imaginings, but was the outcome of his close study of Greek and Latin astrological writings. Aeneas Sylvius himself said that 'a prince must not be ignorant of Astronomy which unfolds the skies and by that means interprets the secrets of Heaven to mortal men'.¹⁸ The *Astronomicon* is modelled closely on Aratus and, like his work, is divided into two parts and follows the same plan throughout. It has much in common with the contemporary *Urania* of Pontano, which gives a description of the planets, the stars, the constellations, and outlines their influence upon the earth and its inhabitants. Like Basinio, Pontano is ready to digress from his main point; when he comes to Aries he cannot desist from telling the story of the golden fleece, and when he reaches Cancer, that of Proteus. To both authors the constellations represent real people with concrete personalities.

The *Astronomicon* was written for Basinio's patron, Gismondo Malatesta; it must be dated between 1453 (for he laments the fall of Byzantium¹⁹ in that year) and 1457, when Basinio died. He was only thirty-two at the time of his death. His childhood had been spent in a village in the high Apennines above Parma, and from there he went first to Mantua to study under Vittorino, some years later than Ognibene, and thence to Ferrara where he learnt Latin and Greek from Guarino and Teodoro Gaza. At Gaza's school Basinio composed his first poem, *Meleagris*, and dedicated it to Leonello d'Este. *Meleagris* was an imitation of Homer, for whom Basinio had the greatest admiration.²⁰ Yet Basinio refused the invitation of Nicholas V to make a Latin translation of the *Iliad*, declaring himself unequal to the task.

On the death of Leonello d'Este, in October 1450, Basinio

M utorum uarias aliquā habuixe figurās
 F lammīea q: uouem cīngmī uestre figura.
 Q uis dubitet cupidi nōrit qui firra tonantū?
 Q ualif holorūmū uirūlēma ad arsū caystri
 A ccolit herbosas pisco flumine ripas
 T alis in aetheras holor est pulcherrimus oris
 A la tenet cuuis magnā sublimiter arcom.
 T enditur exifērīm sed & altera potē sub orbī
 F lexīgēi tangit pede sed uestigia sumo.
 A stufer ipē secat reliquo de corpore rostrū
 C auda caput rāpī contingit deriq: caphti.
 C olla tenent rnam: longae uia trāmīa caude.
 Q umq: finisēa tenet spaciū ingentibus ala.
 A lterā qumq: caput solā tenet. inde uidetur



A PAGE FROM THE ASTRONOMICON

left Ferrara and made his way to Rimini, where he enjoyed the protection of the talented Gismondo Malatesta, of sinister reputation. Here Basinio met a number of scholars and poets, among them the eccentric Tommaso Seneca and the Neapolitan Porcelio, with whom he was at first on friendly terms. Later, a sharp controversy divided them, for Seneca and Porcelio scorned the study of Greek writers, and Basinio was moved to write a satire against Porcelio (in which he described him as 'il porco') in defence of his beloved Greeks.²¹

VI

'Il porco' is represented by a fragment *In honorem glorioissime ac piissime Marie virginis* in a collection of miscellanea owned by Tiptoft and now MS. I. 38 in St. John's College library at Cambridge. The manuscript is in two parts, the first ten items written in one hand, and the second, a life of Virgil, in another similar hand; it ends abruptly on fo. 178^v, the end being lost. Most of the pieces are quite short; the letter of Demosthenes to Alexander, a short letter of Petrarch, two orations of Demosthenes (these, like his letter, are in Latin), and a letter from Bartolommeo Facio, Fatio, or Fazio, to Roberto Strozzi. The same Fazio is represented by the only long item in the book, the *Libellus de felicitate vite*, dedicated to Alfonso of Aragon.

Fazio had studied under Guarino at Verona, and went on to Venice where he became tutor to the sons of the Doge Francesco Foscari. He then returned to his 'native Genoa',²² and was sent in 1443 to Naples as one of the Genoese ambassadors to King Alfonso. Later, Fazio returned to the Aragonese court and wrote there his life of Alfonso in ten books and a valuable collection of short biographies of his friends and contemporaries, *De viris illustribus*.²³ He had

a furious quarrel with Lorenzo Valla, which began when he pointed out five hundred errors he said he had found in Valla's work; Valla retorted that Fazio was completely ignorant of the Latin tongue, and referred to him contemptuously as 'Fatuus'.

The St. John's College MS. seems to have belonged at one time to Oxford University²⁴; it was given to the College by Thomas Baker in the seventeenth century. No doubt it was part of Tiptoft's bequest; certainly it was included in his library, for his coat of arms appears on fo. 1, much faded and rubbed, but still quite recognizable. The decoration seems to be by another hand, for the arms are given simply on a shield, with no mantling or crest, and there is no stippled background. The two amorini supporting the wreath, tied with trailing blue ribbons, were evidently nicely drawn, but only their heads and wings are now visible. There is a narrow scrolled border at the left side, with gold dots. The ornament shows signs of haste, as in MS. Harley 2639, but it is better and the drawing is more refined.

Dr. James in his catalogue describes the two hands as 'Italic' and 'Roman' respectively. They are not dissimilar. The capitals are in plain dark colours, red, purple or green, on rectangular diapered grounds outlined in red or black. The effect is heavy and rather clumsy, but not unpleasing. The ink is brownish and of poor quality. Various scribblings and annotations occur, but the only one suggestive of Tiptoft's hand is found on the right margin of fo. 1, where are two initials, much faded, that look like J. W.—for 'John Worcester'?

VII

The only manuscript known to have been written in Vespasiano's workshop for Tiptoft is the Sallust *Catiline* and

Jugurtha, now MS. GL. KGL. S. 2154 in the Royal Library at Copenhagen.²⁵ A note on one of the fly-leaves states that the arms were drawn when the manuscript was executed. It is written in an excellent humanistic hand, and the decoration is light and charming, with white branch-work in typical Florentine style, and ribbons encircling the inscription on the first page. The style of the illumination is completely different from Tiptoft's other MSS., and this fact supports the theory that they were not written in Florence but, most probably, in Padua.²⁶

Tiptoft made a present of this Sallust MS. to his friend and compatriot Peter Courtenay, as we learn from a note on fo. 81^v, where Courtenay has written that it was given to him on 19 September 1460. Courtenay seems to have left Padua not long after taking his degree there,²⁷ and he probably took the Sallust home to England with him, but the manuscript was back in Italy by the end of the seventeenth century, for it was bought in Venice in 1699 by the Danish book collector, Frederick Rostgaard, and passed with the rest of his collection to the Danish Royal Library.

There is also a manuscript that once belonged to Tiptoft in the Escorial at Madrid, but it has been impossible to procure photographs or a full description. Apparently it has Tiptoft's signature—'Johannes uigorniae comes'—at the end, with a note of the price paid, twelve ducats, and on fo. 3 there is a coat of arms, presumably Tiptoft's, in the lower margin.²⁸ The book is a fifteenth-century copy of an astrological work by a thirteenth-century Arabic philosopher, Haly Abenragel *de judiciis astrologiae*, in a Latin version by Aegidio Tebaldi. This was a well-known and popular work; Duke Humphrey had a copy in his library. It is followed by two short treatises on astrological subjects.

VIII

These manuscripts are the only ones that bear Tiptoft's coat of arms, although a book that contains neither his signature nor his shield was in all probability written for him. This is MS. Bodley 80, a copy of John Free's translation of Synesius *de laudibus calvitii*, with his dedicatory letter to John Tiptoft. Prefixed to it is a letter from Ognibene da Lonigo to Free, dated from Vicenza, 9 July 1461.²⁹ It is a small manuscript, of forty-four leaves, written in Italy, in a much contracted humanistic hand, possibly Free's own autograph (although there is no definite evidence for this suggestion), with many corrections and a few marginal notes. On the first two folios sixteenth-century scribblings occur, and later biographical notes on Tiptoft; then comes the letter from Ognibene, and on fo. 5^v Free's dedication begins. An architrave with marble columns, standing on a pink marble plinth, bears the inscription, PRAEFATIO IOANNIS FREAE ANGLICI AD ILLVSS : PRINCIPEM IOANNEM COMIT : VVIGORNIAE DE TRADUCTIONE SEQVENTIS OPERI, in gold letters. The background is stippled in dull red and pink in the peculiar style noticed in Tiptoft's other MSS.; there can be little doubt that this is by the same hand. The initials, too, show the curious entwined foliage of the other MSS.; there is a very fine example on fo. 6, an S in blue on a square crimson ground, with white dots, and green foliage in an intricate pattern.

At the foot of fo. 6, a hastily-drawn wreath, evidently by another hand, outlined in pale olive green, encloses the coat of arms of Bishop Bekynton.³⁰ It is very probable that Tiptoft gave the Bishop this manuscript, and that he in his turn passed it on to John Selwood, Abbot of Glastonbury, 1457-93, for there is a note in the MS. showing that it was given by

Selwood to a Glastonbury monk named Peter Weston. This cannot be counted among the books Tiptoft bequeathed to the University, for it must have been given to Bekynton before 1465, in which year he died.

Several MSS. have been attributed to Tiptoft to which he has no substantial claim. MS. 125 in the library of C.C.C., Oxford, has the name 'Johannes Typtofte' written several times on the fly-leaves at the beginning and at the end. It contains miscellaneous tracts, mainly on alchemy, of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and early fifteenth centuries. It is a stout quarto of 175 leaves and belonged to one Thomas de Wyvelsburgh, and later to Thomas Sprott. At one time it was in the library of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The signature bears no resemblance to Tiptoft's hand,³¹ though it might conceivably be his father's; most probably it is mere irresponsible scribbling.

In a missal now in Trinity College, Cambridge,³² the signature 'J. Worcestre' is found between the autographs of T. Bourchier and J. T. de Lisle on fo. 1^v. This does appear to be genuine, but does not necessarily imply ownership. There are various shields which appear repeatedly in the borders, and on the cover there is stamped on the leather a shield with a saltire in the first quarter and a lion rampant in the third, but the colour is wrong for Tiptoft in both cases. Similarly, at St. John's College, Cambridge, MS. A. 4 has, among certain other shields, argent, a saltire engrailed sable on fo. 49^v and there is a faint possibility that this MS. once belonged to John Lord Tiptoft. It is a canon law book written in the early fourteenth century, Guido de Baysio, *Apparatus Libri sexti Decretalium*.

There is also a Valerius Maximus³³ at Trinity (Cambridge) written in Flanders, that has stamped on the binding what looks at first sight like Tiptoft's crest, surmounting a saltire

engrailed. But the shield has a bordure engrailed, which is difficult to explain, and on the corners of the book, in Gothic lettering, is found the motto MARIA HILF UNS AI, which can in no way be connected with the Tiptoft family. In any case, the binding looks too late for the fifteenth century.

In addition to the books that can definitely be attributed to Tiptoft's library, we know that he must have possessed copies of several more. First, he must have had a Cicero *De Amicitia*, and a copy of Buonaccorso's *De Vera Nobilitate*, from which to make his translations. Then, he must have had presentation copies of the works dedicated to him : Francesco Aretino's version of Lucian *De Calumnia*, Ognibene's translation from Xenophon, and Free's *Carmina Bacchi*. These last, which are mentioned by Leland,³⁴ seem to have been contained in a manuscript belonging to one John Redman, and were probably once in the Chapter Library at Wells.³⁵ The same book had also Flemmyng's *Tiburtinae Lucubrationes*, dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV,³⁶ and the *Epigrammata* of Robert Widow.³⁷

IX

Tiptoft's collection had swollen to such proportions during his stay in Italy that Carbone declared he had spoiled the libraries of Italy to enrich those of England, and the books he gave to Oxford University were reputed to be worth 500 marks—‘Sunt quidem magni, ut aiunt, precii, ad valorem quingentiarum ferme marcarum’.³⁸ Several letters have been preserved which bear upon Tiptoft's gift to Oxford. While he was in Padua Tiptoft wrote to the Chancellor of the University an elegant letter full of compliments and references to the great benefits he himself has received while studying at Oxford, ‘as at a second Athens’. He recommends the study of Latin. In conclusion, Tiptoft promises his books

for the University to keep for ever, as a memorial and pledge of his love. Unfortunately, the invoice or catalogue sent with this letter is lost, and the letter itself exists only in a copy now in the library of C.C.C. at Cambridge.³⁹ It is dated from Padua, 'septimo kalendas Februarias' (25 January), and the year '1468'—no doubt a mistake for 1460—has been added by a later hand.

The reply to this letter was written on 1 April 1460;⁴⁰ there is no address but it is quite clear that it was directed to Tiptoft, for it refers to his remark that the Italians are masters of eloquence, and compliments him upon the fame he has won in their society. Now that the Duke of Gloucester is dead, there is no one more fitted to be the friend and protector of the University, and Tiptoft is addressed as 'Umfridi successor'; the letter closes with fulsome compliments. Eighteen days after Tiptoft's execution, the University wrote an agitated appeal to George Neville, the Archbishop of York, begging his help in securing Tiptoft's books, as 'we do not see how we can hope to receive them'. This defeatist attitude was not justified, for George Neville seems to have been able to secure for Oxford, and very promptly, at least some of Tiptoft's books, although in his answer he regrets that he cannot lay hands upon those that are in Ireland.⁴¹

Tiptoft, it appears, took with him his library wherever he went, and as he was recalled hastily and unexpectedly from Ireland, he may not have had time to make arrangements for the transport of his books. None of these MSS. have so far been forthcoming in any Irish library, but it is not impossible that some still exist. Still later in the same year, the University addressed a letter to the generous Bishop of Norwich, Walter le Hart or Lyhert, asking for his help in building a library to house Tiptoft's bequest. The Earl, 'nuper defuncto', has bequeathed a large number of books,

for which there is no suitable place; as the Bishop has erected such large and beautiful buildings both in Oxford and at Norwich, perhaps he will be kind enough to supply this need.⁴²

A mysterious entry occurs in the Grace Book A at Cambridge under the date 27 October 1470:⁴³

Item in expensis pro litera vniversitatis missa archiepiscopo Eboracensi pro libris datis vniversitati per comitem Wigornie ix. d.

From this it seems that Tiptoft also gave books to Cambridge, unless it is a barefaced attempt to divert the bequest from Oxford, which is unlikely. It will be noticed that the date is nine days earlier than that of Neville's letter from Oxford. No further reference to the books is found, although a few years earlier it had been necessary for Cambridge University to 'placate' the Earl of Worcester with a sum of five marks for some obscure offence or grievance. In the same year, 1464, Tiptoft's 'nuncio' was given the sum of 6s. 8d. as a reward for some unknown service. It is by no means impossible that Tiptoft meant some of his books for Cambridge as well as for Oxford, but it is curious that no reference to this benefaction has been found, beyond a note in Anthony à Wood's *Antiquities of Oxford*, where he says that Tiptoft 'also promised to give certain books to Cambridge University, but whether they obtained them I know not'.⁴⁴ The commissioners of Edward VI did their work only too well at Cambridge, and of 330 books in the University Library in 1473, only nineteen are to-day known to exist,⁴⁵ so it is conceivable that Tiptoft's MSS. were scattered without trace.

At all events, Tiptoft intended his books for the use of others beside himself. Unlike Andrew Holes, he would not 'withdraw from all secular affairs' and shut himself up in his study 'as one who wishes to be dead to the world';⁴⁶

he spent wisely and lavishly on behalf of his old University, and found in book collecting the purest passion of his life. Moreover, Tiptoft's interest in book collecting did not vanish after his return to England. We have seen that he took his books with him to Ireland, and when he was most occupied with affairs of state he still found time for his library. At some date between 1466 and 1468 Tiptoft arranged with one of the Hansa merchants at the London steel-yard to import for him two printed Bibles, presumably from Germany. One Gerhard von Wesel of Cologne was the London representative of the Hansa at this time, and he mentions in his accounts that he has received on behalf of 'mylord Worcester' two printed Bibles.⁴⁷ Possibly Tiptoft meant one of them as a present for some friend such as his chaplain John Hurlegh; he would scarcely need two for his own use. This meagre entry is, however, the only reference that has been found to Tiptoft's purchase, and is the only evidence that he had in his possession any printed books. No trace of the Bibles has been found; possibly they were from Schoeffer's press at Mainz, whence the first dated Bible was issued in 1462, but it would be most unsafe to assume anything of the kind. The fact remains, however, that Tiptoft did buy a printed book in the very early days of printing, and there can be small doubt that had he lived he would have added to his collection the early editions of the classics that began to appear in Italy shortly before his death. Like John Russell, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, who in 1466 bought two copies of Cicero's *De Officiis* within a year of its publication,⁴⁸ Tiptoft was quick to patronize the new invention, and showed the same spirit of enterprise that led him to Tacitus and Lucretius instead of to Virgil and Valerius Maximus.

CHAPTER XII

TIPTOFT'S WORKS

'In tyme of werre he shewed hymself manly & corageous, And in tyme of peas right besye and laboryous in his bokes.'

JOHN TIPTOFT : *Declamacion of Noblesse.*

I

WE have seen that Tiptoft was more than a casual sightseer, that his travels had purpose and direction, and that his contacts with some of the greatest personalities and best minds of his age meant more to him than a mere extension of his acquaintance. Not only did he applaud and admire the humanistic exercises of scholars, he himself entered the field on level terms with his fellow-translators. Like Free and Flemming and Gunthorp, he was anxious to break a lance in the lists of humanism, and although he was not, as they were, in search of patronage, he too felt their desire for fame. It was not enough to be a generous friend of scholars, Tiptoft wanted to feel himself their fellow not merely by virtue of his wealth, position and personal charm. He was anxious to try his own strength and by his own scholarship to prove that his years of study had borne fruit.

As Guarino's pupil, it was appropriate that Tiptoft should choose a work of Cicero for translation into English, and indicative of his own taste that the work he chose was the *De Amicitia*, recommended by Aeneas Sylvius as suitable for a prince to study, in his *De Liberorum Educatione*.¹ Tiptoft shared his preference for Cicero with other notable English

book collectors, Andrew Holes and John Shirwood, Bishop of Durham,² and although his own copy of the *De Amicitia* is not to be found, it must surely have been among the books in his library. It is most probable that Tiptoft made his translation while he was in Italy, very possibly while he was actually studying under Guarino. In that case, it was almost certainly taken from the Latin original, and not, as Mr. Gordon Duff suggests, from the French version made in 1405 by Laurent de Premierfait for Louis Duc de Bourbon.³ It would have been hard to find a copy of the French version in Italy, where scribes were working at high pressure on MSS. of classical texts and humanistic commentaries, with little time to spare for an indifferent translation in a foreign tongue. The exercise, too, would have lost all its point, had the translation been made at second hand.

Moreover, a comparison of Tiptoft's version with the original on one hand and Premierfait's translation on the other, dispels doubt.⁴ The two translations are completely different in character, Tiptoft's being slavishly close to the original, and Premierfait's free and flowing, full of parentheses and amplifications. The French version is an essay, based on Cicero, addressed to a royal amateur of letters; the English one is a rather laborious scholar's exercise. Tiptoft's translation is by no means free from grammatical errors; it is timid in character and shows none of the vigour and ready flow of English which marks his other surviving translation. It was perhaps an early effort, before he had acquired that ease and fluency in the Latin tongue which so delighted Aeneas Sylvius.

Tiptoft's *Friendship* was printed by Caxton in 1481 with two other tracts, one, a translation by Tiptoft of the *Controversia de Nobilitate* by Buonaccorso da Montemagno, and the other an English version of Cicero's *De Senectute*. In his colophon to *Tulle of olde age* Caxton states that it has been

taken from the French of Laurent de Premierfait, made, as was his other translation, for Louis Duc de Bourbon. This Premierfait was the first translator of the *Decameron* (Lydgate used this translation for his *Fall of Princes*), and he made French versions of various works of Seneca and the *Economic* of Aristotle. He was secretary to the Duc de Berri, and died in 1418. Caxton further explains, in his prologue, that this work was undertaken 'by the ordenaunce and desyre of the noble Auncyent knyght' Sir John Fastolf, and says, 'I have endevoured me to gete it with grete difficulte, and so gotten have put it in enprynte and dilygently aftir my litil understandyng corrected it, to thentente that noble vertuous and wel disposed men myght have it to loke on and to understande it.'⁵

Caxton does not say who made this translation and it has often, though incorrectly, been ascribed to Tiptoft. It is highly improbable that Tiptoft would have undertaken a commission for Sir John Fastolf, and in any case it must have been made before 1459, when Sir John died. A far more likely author is Sir John's own secretary, William of Wyrcester. It is conceivable that Leland, to whom the error can be traced,⁶ confused this 'William of Wyrcester' with the Earl of Worcester, for William is known to have made an English version of the *De Senectute*, which he offered to Bishop Waynflete in 1473.⁷ Further, there is the negative argument that Caxton would surely have mentioned the fact had Tiptoft been the translator, for he dwells at some length upon his authorship of both the *Friendship* and the *Declamacion of Noblesse* in his epilogue to the latter work. Caxton begs the reader to 'remembre hym that translated it in to our maternal and Englyssh tongue, and not only this said werke but the book of *Tullius de Amicicia* here to fore enprynted which treateth so wel of frendship and amyte, I mene the right vertuous and noble Erle therle of Wurcestre, whiche late

pytously lost his lyf, whos soule I recommande unto youre special prayers.⁸

A similar error has given to Tiptoft the credit of translating *Cesar's Commentaryes*. Tiptoft was probably acquainted with Caesar's works, as was his father, but there is no evidence to connect him with this translation. The work was printed by William Rastell in 1530, in the same year his father, John Rastell, printed Tiptoft's version of the *De Amicitia*. The British Museum copy, from Sir Hans Sloane's collection, has Rastell's edition of the *Friendship* bound with Caxton's, and it may have been a confusion between these that led Ames⁹ to see in Tiptoft the author of the *Commentaryes*. It seems clear that the translation was taken from a French version,¹⁰ almost certainly from that of the Franco-Flemish humanist Robert Gaguin,¹¹ which was made in 1485—fifteen years after Tiptoft's death. In his introduction to Miss H. R. Palmer's *List of English editions and translations of Greek and Latin classics printed before 1641*, Mr. Victor Scholderer suggests that John Rastell himself made the translation afterwards printed by his son. John Rastell, who was brother-in-law to Sir Thomas More, was a very fair scholar, and probably translated Terence's *Andria* printed by him in 1523. It is both possible and probable that *Cesar's Commentaryes* ought to be ascribed to him.

II

A great number of English editions of both Greek and Latin classics were taken from French versions of the originals, not only in the fifteenth century, but throughout the sixteenth as well. This was not due so much to ignorance of Latin, or a preference for the easier method of translating at second-hand, as to the difficulty of procuring good classical texts in England, while French editions were accessible and plentiful.

It is generally thought that Tiptoft himself used Jean Mielot's French version of the *Controversia de Nobilitate* of Buonaccorso da Montemagno for his *Declamacion of Noblesse*, which Caxton printed in the same volume as the *Tully of Old Age and Friendship*. Alternatively, he may have taken it from the original Latin, or from the vernacular version made by Giovanni Aurispa. Buonaccorso da Montemagno¹² the younger (his works are sometimes confused with those of his grandfather, who bore the same name) was a noble of Pistoja, born about the year 1392. He held office in Florence, being Gonfaloniere of Justice in 1421, and was sent by the Republic on various embassies to Lucca, Liguria and Milan. He was a famous jurist, and lectured on law at Florence; in his spare time he wrote amorous songs and sonnets in imitation of Petrarch, which were printed under his grandfather's name and ascribed to him until Count Giovambatista Casotti of Prato distinguished the work of the younger Buonaccorso. His *Controversia de Nobilitate* was written in 1428, the year before his death, and was the most ambitious of his works. Some of the MSS. are dedicated to Guidantonio di Montefeltro, Lord of Urbino 1404-43, but in most the work is inscribed to Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, the son of Galeotto Malatesta and Gentilla di Varano. Some doubt has been cast upon Buonaccorso's authorship of the *Controversia*, and it has sometimes been attributed to Leonardo Bruni Aretino, the famous humanist; Dr. Hans Baron, however, has recently examined a large number of MSS., and has come to the conclusion that it is much more likely to have been wrongly ascribed to Leonardo than to Buonaccorso¹³—in short, he is convinced that Buonaccorso did write this attractive and amusing novella.

The French version was made in 1449 by Jean Mielot, the secretary of Philip Duke of Burgundy, an industrious trans-

lator of classical texts and romances; this was one of the earliest books printed by Colard Mansion at Bruges. There is a manuscript of Mielot's translation in the British Museum (MS. Harley 4402, article iv.), and there are a number of Latin versions, notably MS. Harley 3332, which is exquisitely written on vellum and decorated with acorns and the della Rovere arms for Sixtus IV or Julius II. The Italian translation by Giovanni Aurispa must have been made while Aurispa was in Ferrara, for he settled there in 1428 and remained in that city, with a few short intervals, until his death in 1460. We have seen that Tiptoft was in Ferrara sometime before this date, and it is not impossible that Aurispa drew Tiptoft's attention to Buonaccorso's work and suggested that he should make an English version.

In that case, probability points to the use of the Latin original, and, on the whole, this supposition is borne out by internal evidence. It is true that Tiptoft does sometimes use French words, such as 'lectrure' and 'eurous', but these were in common usage at the time and would naturally suggest themselves to him.¹⁴ On the other hand, *respublica* is generally rendered as 'thyngē publyque' rather than as 'weal publyque'. Some turns of phrase, too, suggest a Latin rather than a French original, and where the original has 'Cornelius' and Mielot 'Cornelius Scipion' Tiptoft nearly always has 'Cornely'.¹⁵ An illustration from the three versions shows Mielot's freedom and verbosity, and Tiptoft's closer connection with the original both in phrase and spirit. Buonaccorso has: 'Ego igitur, ubi ex infantia primum adolescere cepi, etatem meam omnem dulcium litterarum studiis accommodari', etc.¹⁶ This is rendered by Mielot as '. . . des mon enfance je commençay a croistre, jay employe mon eage [sic] aux estudes de toultes lettres. En apres quand je fus ung pou plus grand je possay une bonne partie de mon adolescience en philosophie', etc.;¹⁷

while Tiptoft has 'Fforsothe, whan I was right yonge, I was sette to scole, and whan I waxed more rype of yeres, I toke grete pleasyr to spende my tyme in the studye of philosophye', etc. More striking still is the last sentence of the tract: 'utra earum nobilior sit, in vestra nunc sententia derelinquitur' (Buonaccorso); 'le plus noble de nous deux mes peres conscrips le jugement en est laissier du tout en vostre sentence' (Mielot); and 'whether of thise partyes is the better, I leue it to your dome and sentence' (Tiptoft).

III

The plot of Buonaccorso's novella is simple and without subtlety. In the days of Imperial Rome¹⁸ a wealthy citizen named Fulgeus and his wife Claudia have among their treasures one daughter, of surpassing beauty, named Lucresse. She lacks 'nothyng that coude be wylled or wesshed . . . of honore or vertue'. Out of many suitors for her hand only two find favour with Fulgeus; one, a noble, Publius Cornelius Scipio, the other a man of lower birth but higher nature, named Gayus Flammeneus. These young men meet by chance in the house of Fulgeus, both bent upon winning Lucresse. Fulgeus leaves the choice to his daughter, who in her maidenly way says, 'I praye you chese for me and to your sone in lawe, the more noble of bothe'. The question is put to the Senate, and it is arranged the contest shall be by debate before the whole Roman Senate and that Lucresse shall award her hand after each suitor has made an oration in which he is to prove his worth.

'Cornely' speaks first. He is a young man 'gretely stuffed of Richesse, wel furnysshed of frendes, his householde plenteuously garnysshed of servauntes. . . . And his grete studye rested in huntyng, haukyng, syngyng, & disporte'. He bases

his claim to noblesse upon his nobility of birth and upon his wealth. He recites at some length the noble deeds of his ancestors, and then points out that 'the habundaunce of Rychesse embellyssheth gretely noblesse'. If Lucresse will marry him he will keep her in idleness and pleasure; she will not be 'vexid with comyn labours', nor will she have to lie awake at nights planning how she can make ends meet. Indeed, she may well congratulate herself that her wisdom and beauty have led Cornely to choose her for his bride 'ffor I shal bryng you to my lodgyng where ye shall see estately byldynges of halle and chambres conuenient for a Kynge'. As for Gayus Flammeneus, he could promise her none of these things, for 'he may chalenge no parte of noblesse . . . syth it is to vs alle vnknowen from whens he cam, and whether he have ony lytle pyece of erthe to bylde vpon a cote or lodge'. Cornely pictures Lucresse clad in silk and cloth of gold, disporting herself with her maidens, singing, dancing, hunting and hawking all day 'and I shal enforce me to make you passe the nyghtes meryly'. He knows that it is only her modesty which has prevented her from saying 'I desyre Cornely'.

Gayus Flammeneus then makes his oration, which opens with delicate compliments to the intelligence and integrity of the members of the Senate, an attention overlooked by Cornely. He is not used to acting as his own herald and craves their forgiveness if he seems to extol his own virtues, but he is forced to do so by the 'surquydous boost and wantoun langage of Cornely'. Gayus Flammeneus then points out that although his rival had plenty to say about the deeds of his ancestors and about the riches he had inherited from them, yet he could remember nothing that he himself had done. Turning to Cornely he says, 'thy cowardyse exceedeth their worship'.

Noblesse does not lie in another man's glory, nor in the 'flytting goodes of fortune', but in a man's own virtue, an excellency of manhood, justice, pity, constancy, magnanimity and temperance. True noblesse 'resteth neyther in rychesse ne in blood, but in a fre and noble courage'. This courage is not joined to the inheritance of possessions, dame Nature gives it 'to whom she lyketh beste'. The needy and 'lytil sette by' may have as great courage, virtue and manhood as the son of emperor or king, and Gayus Flammeneus rehearses instances: Cato, Marius, Socrates, Demosthenes.

Next, Gayus Flammeneus outlines his own career. As a little boy he was put to school, and as soon as he was old enough diligently studied philosophy. He learned Greek and Latin and 'certayn yeres I abode in athenes to here the grekes, the prynces of eloquence and phylosophye'. He modestly disclaims praise, for he says his passion for study was due, he thinks, to a gift of nature 'ffor me semed my mynde was never appeased but whan it had knowleche of some thynges that I knewe not afore, and of the veray trouthe of thynges'. Vice had no attraction for him, and he took his pleasure in working with all his might for the well-being of his city. He had a good record in serving his country by sea and land, he is a dutiful son to his parents and beloved by all his neighbours, kind to the needy, devout in religious matters, and 'mery at home'. Flammeneus has something to say about the extravagance, 'unshamefastness', idleness and drunkenness of Cornely; if his much vaunted ancestors were alive, they would be the first to disclaim him. Anyone would have thought Cornely had been brought up in the houses of 'mysgoverned wymmen'. As Lucresse knows true virtue when she sees it, since she herself is so virtuous, surely she will scorn the 'vulgar playes', cloth of gold and jewels and grand apartments described by Cornely and prefer the more sober

Here foloweth the Argument of the declamation/ Whiche
laboureth to shewe, wherin honoure sholde rest:

Chan Theempyre of Rome moste flou-
red, And was in the age of his force and
strengthe. The fame of one named Ful-
genus, was right ferre spredde to his grete
worship, for he was right curious to ri-
chesse/honoure, and friendship. Also gretly riche as wel
of the grace andy goody wille of alle the Cytteyns of
Rome, as of other gyftes of fortune. And he had by his
wyf named Claudea a daughter of sumountynge beaute
callidyn named Lucrelle, whiche was thonly hope of
his conforte and sustentacion in the yeres of his age, for
besyde her merueylous beaute, wherin she exceded alle the
vyrgyns of Rome in tho dayes. Ther was in her so gret
te attemperaunce of lys, with so worshipful condycyon of ma-
ners, so grete force of wisedom, with so plenteuous vnder-
standingy of lecture, that it shewed her to lacke nothingy
that coude be byssledy or wesshedyn ony worshipful creature
to haue of honoure or vertue. Neuertheles emong many
that hertly loued her, ther were tweyne in especial, whiche
dayly more & more brenned in the loue of fayre Lucrelle.
And bytweyne them was lytil difference in semelynesse
of persone or age. But theyz maners andy fortune were
gretely different. The one of them andy the fyrt was
named Publyns Cornelius, of the worshipful houes

pleasures offered her by Gayus Flammīneus. Together they will lead a contented life, together they will enjoy study and intelligent conversation (there will be no chattering or 'janglynge of unchast wymmen' to hinder them); in his 'poure lodgyng' Lucresse will find not magnificence but quiet rest.

At the end, the question is left open, and we are not told the Senate's decision and Lucresse's choice. Caxton in his epilogue says: 'As touchyng the sentence . . . I fynd none as yet pronounced. . . . Thenne I wold demaunde of theym that shall rede or here the book whiche of this tweyne was moost noble . . . and to him juge ye this noble and vertuous Lady Lucresse to be maryed.'

IV

Tiptoft has entered thoroughly into the spirit of the original, and his translation is admirably turned, with touches of a dry trenchant humour. The *Declamacion* is the earliest of those treatises on manners and courtesy either translated from Italian originals or written in imitation of them, which were to become familiar household manuals in England during the next century. It even holds its own when compared with the longer and far more famous *Courtier* translated by Hoby from the *Cortegiano* of Baldassare Castiglione. Sir Thomas Hoby's *Courtier*, published in 1561, though immensely popular in Elizabeth's day, was quickly forgotten, and after its third edition in 1603 had to wait three hundred years for a reprint,¹⁹ while Tiptoft's *Declamacion* has never been reprinted since 1481.

In Italy, 'nobilità' was a favourite theme for discussion. Both Cristoforo Landino and the papal librarian Platina wrote dialogues *De vera nobilitate*, and Bartolomeo Fazio touches on the subject in his *De vitae felicitate*. In Renaissance

Italy where the Court was the centre of the City State, and court life was of supreme importance, a new and higher conception of the courtier had grown up and displaced the medieval, or military, ideal. The courtier was no longer to be a mere soldier; although he should be a skilled and graceful performer with every weapon, conversation and polite accomplishments were as necessary to him as his sword and lance. He ought to possess '... readiness of wit, pleasantness of wisdom, and knowledge of letters', for '... He that savoureth not the sweetness of letters cannot know how much is the greatness of glory.'²⁰ Publius Cornelius Scipio is clearly intended to correspond to the old ideal, Gayus Flammīneus to the new, and to Tiptoft must be given credit for recognizing and introducing to Englishmen the new Renaissance ideal. It is interesting that Tiptoft, the framer of ordinances and authority upon joust and tourney, should have been equally at home with the newer point of view, the preoccupation with knightly character rather than with knightly deportment.

Tiptoft's *Declamation* is interesting and valuable also from another point of view, for it was undoubtedly used by the author of the earliest English secular drama—Henry Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres*, written about the year 1497. For many years this play was thought to be lost; its existence was only known by two leaves pasted into one of the Bagford scrapbooks in the British Museum and from an account in Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (iii. 340-41). There was much controversy and speculation about the source of the Bagford pages, some scholars denying Medwall's authorship. Suddenly, a complete text of the play was found; it reappeared after many years of oblivion when the Mostyn plays were sold at Sotheby's in 1919, and created a sensation in the literary world before it was carried off to its new home in California.²¹ Since then it has been twice reprinted,

in America and in England, and its interest and importance have been widely recognized.

Henry Medwall was chaplain to Cardinal Morton and the author of a number of plays which are rather unequal in quality but at their best very good. *Fulgens and Lucres* was printed by John Rastell between 1516 and 1533; 'Fulgens' for 'Fulgeus' may have been a misreading, for in a list of masques and plays, dated 1656, the name is given as Fulgeus. On the whole, Medwall follows his original very closely; in many lines he uses identical words, but he gives a twist to the story by introducing a comic underplot in which he parodies his own treatment of the theme, a method used with great effect by Shakespeare a hundred years later.

Medwall uses his material very well, and introduces enough action to keep the play alive; for instance, Cornelius asks Lucresse if she will care to see 'a bace dance' (i.e. a minuet) 'after the gyse of spayne', and she obligingly replies:

‘Syr, I shall gyue you the lokynge on.’

He shows his sense of the theatre, too, in allowing Lucresse to take matters into her own hands and to give a definite verdict in favour of Gayus Flammeneus, an improvement upon the vague and nebulous ending of the *Declamacion*. She declares:

‘I am fully determyned with godis grace
So that to gaius I wyll condescend,
For in this case I do hym commend
As the more noble man sith be thys wyse
By meane of hys vertue to honour doth aryse.’²²

Lucres tempers this, however, with her next words:

‘And for all that I wyll not dispise
The blode of cornelius, I pray you thinke not so.’

The servant of Gayus Flammeneus is excited and overjoyed at his master's triumph, and exclaims :

*'Yes by my trouth I shall witness bere, . . .
How suce a gentylwoman did opynly say
That by a chorles son she wolde set more
Than she wold do by a gentylman bore.'*²³

The two servants of Cornelius and Gayus in their turn compete for the favours of Jone, the handmaid of Lucres. They are called with a simple directness, 'A' and 'B'; they are racy individuals, and their contest is not by debate but by wrestling and cockfighting. Jone, for her part, says that she will prefer not the more noble of her suitors, but :

*'There ys neuuer one of you bothe
For all youre wordes gay
That shal be assured of me
Tyll I may fyrist here and se
what ye bothe can do:
And he that can do most maystry,
Be it in cokery or in pastry,
In fettis of warre or dedys of cheualry,
With hym wyll I go.'*²⁴

Apart from the introduction of this underplot, Medwall differs from Tiptoft very little, but he presents a slightly less pleasing picture of the successful suitor. Indeed, Medwall's Gavis Flammeneus is something of a prig. He lacks the magnanimity of Tiptoft's Flammeneus, and unlike him has never been to Athens, takes little interest in the humanities, and makes no promises to Lucres that he will share with her his beautiful library; he does not even admit that he possesses any books. Tiptoft's ideal of noblesse is closer to the Italian renaissance courtier than Medwall's, although *Fulgens and*

Lucres was written nearly thirty years later than the *Declamacion of Noblesse*, but then Tiptoft himself was in far closer touch with the Italian point of view than any of his countrymen, not even excepting John Free.

V

Although Caxton implies that he knew Tiptoft personally, when he says 'The Erle of Wurcestre . . . to whom I knewe none lyke emonge the lordes of the temporalite in science & moral vertue', there is no actual proof that the two men ever met. If they did, it must have been during the year 1453, when Caxton returned from Bruges for the purpose of taking his livery in the Mercer's company, and stayed on for several months in London. He did not leave Bruges to set up his press at Westminster until some years after Tiptoft's death. In 1453 Tiptoft was Lord Treasurer, and spent much of his time in London; he was in the public eye, and it is not unlikely that Caxton saw and perhaps spoke with him. Tiptoft was always accessible, for all his alarming reputation, and would not have despised 'a poure ignorant and symple persoune', as Caxton described himself. Be that as it may, Caxton was very well informed about the details of Tiptoft's career, as he shows in his epilogue to the *Declamacion*, where he outlines Tiptoft's achievements, describing his travels and lamenting his untimely death. 'O good blessyd lord god', he writes, 'what grete losse was it of that noble vertuous and wel disposed lord, whan I remembre and aduertyse his lyf, his science, and his vertue. . . .'

It is too much to claim Tiptoft as one of Caxton's patrons, but it is noticeable that the printer speaks of him with real affection and admiration, and in far warmer terms than he addresses any of his living patrons, even his gifted patron-

client Lord Scales. If Tiptoft had lived to see the introduction of printing into his own country, he might well have been Caxton's customer and benefactor as well as his hero.

VI

Caxton speaks of Tiptoft's 'many other vertuous werkys, whiche I have herd of',²⁵ and it is a pity that he was not able to print them, if they ever came his way. Besides these unknown virtuous works, and the orations Tiptoft made before Aeneas Sylvius and his Cardinals, and is said to have made to the people of Padua, and his ordinances, we can only add to the list of his writings a few letters supposed to be contained in a manuscript in Lincoln Cathedral Library.²⁶

Leland says nothing of these letters, and this is odd because he certainly visited the library in 1533-34, when he was commissioned to visit and report upon the libraries of religious houses. Bishop Tanner, on the other hand, describes the MS. in terms which leave no doubt that he personally examined it. He gives the number of letters as twenty, four written by Tiptoft and the others addressed to him.²⁷ Tanner wrote his *Bibliotheca Britannica Hibernica* at the end of the seventeenth century, though it was not published until 1748, and in 1671 he had made a tour of various cathedral libraries, so no doubt it was at this time that he saw Tiptoft's MS. He plainly states in his book that he saw it at Lincoln, but in the manuscript notes of his visit there²⁸ it is not mentioned.

To-day, the manuscript cannot be found. A prolonged search has failed to reveal it, and as the MSS. have recently been re-catalogued²⁹ there is very little hope that it may yet be discovered. It would seem, if Tanner is right, and did not inadvertently write 'Lincoln' for some other place,³⁰ that it must have disappeared some time during the eighteenth

century, for the antiquary Francis Gough sought for it in vain sometime before the year 1806.³¹ Librarians at this period were notoriously careless, and the manuscript, which must have been quite small and easily portable—just the size to be easily hidden beneath a lace ruffle—may have been stolen, or ‘acquired’ as a souvenir. In these days ‘a few shillings were sufficient to allow the excision by any curious stranger of the illuminated capitals’,³² and although the letters are unlikely to have been elaborately illuminated, they may have been attractively written or bound in a charming style.

Alternatively, the book may have perished in some fire, such as that of 1609, or by other accident, or by neglect. Books easily moulder away when they are not cared for, and become undecipherable when they are too long unused. When Poggio went to S. Gall in 1416 he found the books stained and rotted with dust, moths and soot, so that he wept to see such destruction. Less than a hundred years after Tiptoft brought home his precious burden of books, those books with many thousands more were being snatched from their natural homes in monastic and other libraries and cast aside or wilfully destroyed. Bale, in his preface to Leland’s *New Yeare’s Gift* (1549), called it ‘a most horryble infamy’. He went on to say in an often-quoted passage:

... A great nombre of them whych purchased those superstycyous mansyons, reserved of those lybrarye bokes, some to serve theyr jakes, some to scourre theyr candelstyckes, and some to rub their bootes. Some they sold to the grossers and sope sellars, and some they sent over see to ye bokebynders, not in smal nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons. ... I knowe a merchaunt man ... that bought the contents of two noble lybraryes for XI shyllynge pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. Thys stuff hath he occupyyed in the stede of graye paper [*i.e.* wrapping-paper] by the space of

more than these X years, and yet he hath store ynough for as many yeares to come. A prodygyouse example is this, and to be abhorred of all men. . . .

Considering this wholesale destruction of treasures, it is surprising that even a small proportion survive to-day, and that the vandalism of the sixteenth and the apathy of succeeding centuries should have spared to us as many beautiful and valuable books as we have. At any rate, it is no use to speculate upon what may have been the fate of Tiptoft's letters; if they exist, no doubt they will one day be re-discovered, if they are lost for ever we must take comfort in the thought that they were perhaps less interesting and less important than the names of their writers and addressees suggest.

VII

Tiptoft's correspondents fall naturally into two groups: the four to whom Tiptoft wrote (John Free belongs to both groups) and those who signed their letters to him. First on Tanner's list comes 'Laurentius More'. Tiptoft's latest biographer thinks this must have been some Lorenzo Moro, an Italian humanist whom he is unable to identify,³³ but although this view is quite credible it has nothing to support it. After some hesitation, I have ventured to identify him with Ser Lorenzo Moro, or Mauro, Captain of the Venetian Galleys, employed by the Republic of Venice to command the convoy of galleys trading with London and Bruges. His name occurs three times in the Calendar of Venetian State Papers³⁴ under the year 1457, the year before Tiptoft started his travels. Did Tiptoft write to Lorenzo asking his advice about making arrangements for the pilgrimage he was contemplating? Lorenzo Mauro had himself commanded a pilgrim-galley in 1441,³⁵ so he could speak of the voyage at first hand. He

may have advised Tiptoft to put himself in the hands of Antonio Loredano, for Tiptoft in the short time he was in Venice can hardly have made exhaustive enquiries before making his request to the Venetian Senate. Like all the 'patrons' of the Venetian galleys, Lorenzo was a patrician; his father was Ser Antonio Mauro, who died before 1441. Little further is known of Lorenzo. He must have been a man of some wealth to be able to bid 802 lire for the pilgrim licence in 1441 when it was put up to auction, as was the custom at that date. In 1457 he would be a man of over forty-six, for no one under thirty could obtain a licence from the Senate.

Another correspondent was Wilelmus Atteclyffe, or William Hatclyf, most versatile of King's Secretaries, the fore-runner of Thomas Cromwell. Like Tiptoft himself, Hatclyf had studied at Padua, but some twelve years earlier. We hear of him first in January 1446, when he was present at the *doctoratus* of a friend, an Augustinian canon from Wroxton,³⁶ and again in February of the following year at the *doctoratus* of the astute civil lawyer Henry Sharp,³⁷ who was often associated with him in later years as a fellow ambassador. On this occasion he is described as a Master of Arts and medical scholar, and the next month, on 4 and 5 March 1447, he took his private and public examinations in medicine, supported by three English friends, and passed 'nemine discrepante'.³⁸

Soon after his return to England, Hatclyf became physician to Henry VI, and he was one of the five persons who watched over the King during his insanity. For this important and responsible task he was paid £40 annually.³⁹ Even before he went to Italy and acquired the glory of a medical degree from Padua, Hatclyf had made a name as a scholar, and in 1443 he was made a Fellow of St. Mary and St. Nicholas College, Cambridge (now King's), by the royal founder.⁴⁰ Hatclyf must have had some reputation as a chemist, for he was

appointed by Henry VI 'to investigate touching the means proposed to the King, whereby within a few years, his debts may be paid in good money of gold and silver'; that is, to examine the possibilities of alchemy as a remedy for royal extravagance.⁴¹ Such research was taken very seriously, and at about the same time a licence was granted to John Faceby, another of the King's physicians, and to two others, 'to endeavour to discover the philosopher's stone, or elixir of life, and to transmute metals'.⁴² Henry's debts, however, were beyond such aid, and continued to be the most serious of his many embarrassments.

On the accession of Edward IV Hatclyf successfully negotiated a change of masters and became the new King's Secretary and confidential agent, receiving grants of offices and lands and customs as reward for his services. It was probably at this period of his life that he was in close touch with Tiptoft, now Lord Constable and later Lord Treasurer. Hatclyf was employed in various embassies, and to him were entrusted diplomatic missions of the greatest delicacy. On one occasion he was sent to Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy, to explain that the King of England neither would nor could pay the full £13,000 of the Duchess Margaret's dowry.⁴³ At the other end of the scale, Hatclyf was given duties of a miscellaneous kind; in October 1468 he was sent down to Brentwood, in Essex, to find out whether or no one John Nightyngale was suffering from leprosy,⁴⁴ and he often acted as messenger or interpreter as occasion rose. He was certainly a man of parts.

In 1470, with the brief restoration of Henry VI, came the greatest crisis of Hatclyf's career. He, with two friends, was unlucky enough to fall into the hands of Warwick's men just at the time Tiptoft was captured in the forest of Weybridge. Hatclyf and his companions were imprisoned in the Castle of

Pontefract, and believed they were in danger of execution. As John Paston wrote to his wife, they were '... lyek to dye hastyly withowte they be dead'.⁴⁵ When Edward IV recovered his kingdom, however, they were set at liberty, and Hatclif again enjoyed royal favour. He was still alive in 1480, but died soon afterwards and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His will is preserved at Somerset House, P.C.C. I. Logge.

Next on the list is 'Master Vincent', who is easily recognizable as Vincent Clement, the 'doctor insolens' who was at Oxford with Tiptoft, a cosmopolitan adventurer who held office as a collector for the papal camera. He was given unusually wide powers, and was allowed to absolve usurers throughout the kingdom, enjoining penance and directing them, in cases where restitution to their victims was impossible, to send their ill-gotten gains to Rome for the repair of the churches there. By birth he was probably a Catalan, but he was equally at home in France, Spain, Italy or England, where his smooth manners and suave charm won for him a grudging respect. No one liked him much, still less trusted him, but all were bound to acknowledge his cleverness. Master Vincent was a notable pluralist; besides being Provost of Valencia, he was a prebendary of Wells, Hereford, Lichfield and Lincoln, and at the same time Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Wiltshire and Winchester, but, unlike the Legate Coppini, he failed in his strenuous efforts to secure a bishopric.

In his early days Master Vincent had been proctor of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester in the Roman court, attempting in the Duke's interest to secure the divorce of the unhappy Jacqueline of Hainault from her husband. Later, he was employed by Henry VI, also at Rome, to urge the Pope to grant the indulgences that the King desired for his new foundation at Eton; in one of his letters to Bishop Bekynton Clement declares that he would willingly shed as

much blood as would suffice to write the bulls if only he could obtain the King's wishes.⁴⁶ Master Vincent was evidently a friend of Bishop Bekynton; he is often mentioned in the *Correspondence* and Bekynton's *Register* (he seems to have taken his duties at Wells more seriously than those elsewhere), and on 6 March 1443 Bekynton wrote to thank him for his present of the new poems of Francesco Pontano, sent from Italy.⁴⁷ We know that Tiptoft was a friend of Bekynton and probably passed on to him the MS. of Free's translation from Synesius; it was possibly through Bekynton that Tiptoft became friendly with Master Vincent—if we may assume that the men were friends, and that Tiptoft's letter was not merely a business communication. It is easy to believe that the suave, subtle and very Latin character of Master Vincent, with all his faults, would appeal to the Italianate Tiptoft, and that the priest could bring him into close touch with the Italian humanists, to their mutual advantage.

Master Vincent was, officially, a papal collector, hence his possession of very considerable wealth has a suspicious air; moreover he once got into serious trouble for not keeping any accounts and was ordered to furnish details of the moneys he had collected. He was able to lend 5000 golden florins 'from his own purse' for a crusade against the Turks,⁴⁸ and the gorgeousness of his outfit when setting out for Rome by way of Aragon was far from priestly, even after due allowance is made for the semi-diplomatic character of his mission. He had with him five 'lectos plumales' and the same number of 'hangyngbedys cum le hanginges camerarum', four pieces of tapestry from Arras, altar cloths, copes, jewels, rings and chests full of books.⁴⁹ The sight of this sumptuous display was too much for Clement's enemies in England, and complaints of his unworthy behaviour reached the ears of the Pope, who sent a mandate to Coppini to remove him from office.⁵⁰

Though he must have been a man of great urbanity and charm, and of striking eloquence, there can be little doubt that at the bottom Vincent Clement was a rascally adventurer.

VIII

The three signed letters addressed to Tiptoft are all from humanists, two Italians and one Englishman. Something has already been said of John Free as a student, and of his letters to Bishop Gray and others preserved in MS. Bodl. 587. Free was in many ways the most interesting of the 'volitantes orbe Britanni' described by Janus Pannonius in his panegyric on Guarino,⁵¹ although he is less important than Gray, Gunthorp, Flemming and Tiptoft himself in the history of English humanism, for he never returned to England, but died in Rome in the year 1465—perhaps from poison—immediately after his appointment as Bishop of Bath and Wells and before he could be consecrated.

Guarino da Verona himself wrote to Tiptoft. He was a voluminous letter writer, and many of his epistles bear a strong family likeness; one is perhaps justified in guessing that he wrote a kind letter to Tiptoft complimenting him upon his achievements, encouraging him to continue his studies after his return home, and suggesting he should introduce polite learning to the notice of his countrymen, for it was in this strain that he wrote many of his famous letters. This epistle cannot have been written later than 1460.

Lastly, one of Tiptoft's fellow-pupils wrote to him. This was Galeotti Marzio da Narni, a man of daring and original mind, a fine scholar and an adventurous spirit. He was born in Umbria about 1426, and in 1447 he went to Ferrara and studied two years there under Guarino before going on to Padua to study medicine. From 1463-65 he was lecturing on

rhetoric and poetry at Bologna, and again ten years later. Unlike most of Guarino's pupils, Marzio knew no Greek. His life-long friendship with the Bohemian humanist, Janus Pannonius, Bishop of Fünfkirchen, led to an invitation to visit the Hungarian Court, where in 1464 he became tutor to the young son of Matthias Corvinus, and put into practice Guarino's theories of teaching as Vittorino did at Mantua and Ognibene at Vicenza. Marzio led an eventful life, wandering far afield in search of learning. At one time he was imprisoned in Venice for heresy, after fleeing from Bologna, where he had drawn general blame upon himself by his work *De Incognitis*,⁵² in which he claimed justification by works and not by faith. On this occasion he was obliged to make public recantation in the Piazzetta, with a crown of paper devils on his head.⁵³

It seems that Marzio had in his lifetime a variety of patrons, and he perhaps wished to add Tiptoft to the list. Besides Matthias Corvinus, he counted among them Lorenzo de Medici and Charles VIII of France, dedicating to the first his *De doctrina promisena* (1489) and to Charles VIII his *De excellentibus* (1492). He also wrote an account of the deeds and sayings of Matthias Corvinus, which was printed at Vienna in 1563, and there is a sixteenth-century MS. of his *Chyromantia* in the Antoniana Library at Padua. He died in Bohemia some time after 1492.

With the exception of Ser Lorenzo Mauro, about whose mental equipment we know nothing, all Tiptoft's correspondents were men of unusual quality of mind, the practical William Hatclyf, the urbane Vincent Clement, the adventurous John Free, the original and witty Marzio, and the Master, Guarino, whom Tiptoft and his friends respected and admired as a scholar little less than divine. The contents of the letters themselves matter less than the fact that such men thought fit to write to Tiptoft and he to them.

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. J. W. Adamson: *The Extent of Literacy in England in the XV and XVI Centuries*; The Library, 1929-30.
2. Sir Thomas More: *History of Richard III*, p. 55.
3. Leonardo Bruni: *Epistolae*, ed. L. Mehus; Firenze 1741, ii. 55.
Thomas was an Augustinian buying books in Florence for his convent.
4. *Repentance of Robert Greene*, 1592, p. 23.
5. James Howell, *Instructions for forreine travell*, p. 14.
6. MS. Harley 53.
7. Stevenson: *Letters & Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France*; Rolls Series, 1864, ii. 532.
8. Burke's *Extinct Peerage*; London, 1883. See genealogical table.
9. On ff. 128^v and 146^v, Sir G. Warner: *Catalogue of the MSS. . . . of C. Dyson Perrins, Esq.*, 1920. See also Sir S. C. Cockerell: *The Gorleston Psalter*, 1907.
10. M. R. James: *Catalogue of the MSS. . . . in the library of J. P. Morgan, Esq.*, p. 15, etc.
11. See genealogy, also G. P. Scrope: *The Scopes of Castle Combe*, 1852, p. 55, and Blore's *Rutland*, p. 44.
12. *Victoria County History of Hampshire*, iv. 628.
13. *Home Counties Magazine*, xii. (1910), pp. 214-15 and 268.
14. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in Essex, i. (1916), p. 351.
15. Ibid. p. 352. (Fitzwalter—or a fess gules between two chevrons gules; Badlesmere—argent a fesse gules between two gemel-bars gules; Aspall—azure, three chevrons or.)
16. MS. Harl. 431, fo. 134. See article by A. F. Pollard in the *Dic. Nat. Biog.*
17. *Constitutional History*, iii. 57.
18. The mistake may be traced to Thomas Fuller: *Church History* (ed. J. Nichols, 1868), i. 559.
19. Professor Pollard has counted between two and three hundred references to him in Nicolas, *Privy Council Proceedings*. See article in *Dic. Nat. Biog.*
20. The *Chronicle* is not mentioned by Leland, Bale, or Tanner. It suddenly appeared in the sale-room of Messrs. Fletcher of Piccadilly from the library of the antiquary, John Sidney Hawkins, and was sold 8 May

1843. It seems to have come into his possession from the Scottish historian George Chalmers, beyond that its provenance has not been traced. The MS. was bought by Sir Thomas Phillipps and is now Phillipps MS. 11301 in the library of Mr. T. Fitzroy Fenwick at Cheltenham.

21. 1 September 1416. Sir John Tiptoft was granted letters of protection for a year's sojourn at the court of the king of the Romans: *Dic. Nat. Biog.*
22. They divided the manor of Alton Westbrook in half: *Victoria County History of Hants*, ii. 475.
23. In his funeral oration on Guarino. See chap. iv. Müllner: *Reden und Briefe Italienischer Humanisten*; Wien, 1899, p. 98.
24. *Worthies of England*, p. 155.
25. 21 Henry IV, no. 45; and 9 and 10 Edward IV, no. 53.
26. She is mentioned only in the pedigree given in Rawlinson MS. B. 103 (Bodleian).
27. In MS. Rawlinson, B. 103, Joyce appears as the second daughter and Joanna as the third, but elsewhere they are given in this order.
28. *Cal. of Inquisitions post mortem*, temp. Henry VII, vol. i. no. 21.
29. *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 475.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Erasmus to Colet, 1499. *Erasmi Epistolae*, ed. P. S. Allen, ep. 118.
2. *Historia Regum Angliae*, p. 5. Rous was born 1411 (?) and died in 1491. He was chaplain, from c. 1445 till his death, of the chapel at Guy's Cliffe, near Warwick.
3. *Compotus magistri Alexandri Surtays super socii . . . a festo Pentecostes 18 Henricus VI ad idem festum anno 19 . . . etc.* I am indebted to Dr. Salter for this information.
4. *Calendar of Papal Letters*, xi. 538.
5. Ibid. xi. 596. One of his name was collated Preb. of Stotfold in Lichfield, 21 May 1474. Le Neve: *Fasti*, i. 627.
6. H. E. Salter: *An Oxford Hall in 1424*, from *Essays in History presented to R. Lane Poole*, 1927, p. 431.
7. *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, ed. Strickland Gibson; introduction, p. lxxxii.
8. Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 435.
9. Falconer Madan: *Oxford outside the Guide-books*, p. 59.
10. A penny a day was the price of unskilled labour. 5d. then would go as far as 20s. to-day. Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 427.
11. Vickers: *Humphrey of Gloucester*, p. 412. See also Dr. Craster's list of Duke Humphrey's books in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, i. (1914-16), p. 131, and some recent notes on his MSS. by Prof. B. L. U. E.H.R., iii. (Oct. 1937), pp. 670-2.
12. Vickers: *Humphrey of Gloucester*, p. 405.

13. *Munimenta Academica*, pp. 261-6.
14. *Epistolae Academicae Oxon.*, i. 245-6.
15. *Bekynton Correspondence*, i. 223.
16. *Loci e Libri*; ed. J. T. Rogers, p. 28.
17. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1446-1452, p. 86.
18. Nicolas: *Royal Wills*, p. 341. Also, *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 351.
19. *The Vespasiano Memoirs*, pp. 351-2. Beaufort had met Poggio at the Council of Constance, and tempted him to England with promises of rewards.
20. *The Rous Roll*.
21. *The Pageants of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick*, ed. the Earl of Carysfort; Roxburghe Club, 1908: Introduction. His son-in-law succeeded him as Earl of Warwick.
22. She was buried with her Neville relations at Tewkesbury.
23. These lands included the site of the present Tallow Chandlers' Hall, Dowgate Hill. *Records of the Worshipful Company of Tallow Chandlers*, pp. 192-3.
24. *Register of John Stanbury*, Bishop of Hereford; Canterbury and York Society, 1919, p. 105, etc.
25. Royal MS. 10, B. ix. fo. 122. Part of this letter has been printed in a footnote to Schirmer's *Der Englische Frühumanismus*, p. 110, n. 55. The first letter, in Latin, is printed *op. cit.*, p. 115.
26. *The Italian Relation of England*, trans. C. A. Sneyd, pp. 30-31.
27. Royal MS. 10, B. ix. ff. 61, 64^v.
28. John Stone: *Chronicle*, p. 97. I am indebted to Mr. W. A. Pantin for these notes on Cranebroke.
29. *Ibid.* pp. 55, 62.
30. *Lives of the Archbishops*, v. 358.
31. *Der Englische Frühumanismus*, p. 107.
32. Funeral oration on Guarino: Müllner, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
33. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1446-1452, p. 543.
34. *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. vi. part iii.; Appendix, p. 158.
35. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1452-1461, pp. 54, 120, 124.
36. *Rolls of Parliament*, v. p. 244^b. They did not serve for the full three years, being discharged at their own request, 30 July 1485.
37. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1429-1436, p. 426.
38. *Bekynton Correspondence*, i. 238.
39. Monstrelet: *Chronique*, ed. Douët d'Arcq, v. 324. See also *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, p. 31.
40. *Calendar of Milanese State Papers*, i. 58.
41. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1452-1461, p. 487.
42. MS. Bodley 80, p. 7. Cf. Pius II to Adam de Moleyns, 'Laudo te, qui pacem praeponis bello': *Pii Opera*, 1551, Ep. 64, p. 548.
43. *Worthies of England*, p. 155.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. *Historia Regum Angliae*, p. 5.
2. G. F. Barwick: *Some Early Guide-books*; Bibl. Soc. Transactions, viii. (1904).
3. Quoted by Jusserand: *English Wayfaring Life in the Fourteenth Century*, pp. 396-7.
4. Quoted by M. M. Newett: introduction to *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*; Manchester, 1907, p. 10.
5. *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, trans. Aubrey Stewart for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 4 vols., 1892-1895.
6. *French Rolls of Henry VI*; Appendix to the 48th report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, p. 425.
7. The Bishop of Cologne levied taxes on travellers. William Brewyn: *A xv century guide book*, trans. C. Eveleigh Woodruff; London, 1933, p. 74.
8. G. Stretton: *Aspects of Medieval Travel*; R. Hist. Soc. Transactions, 1924, p. 83.
9. *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. vi. part iii.; Appendix, p. 1578.
10. *Wanderings*, i. 80.
11. *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land*; printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1493 and reprinted by E. Gordon Duff; London, 1893.
12. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato Mar, vi. fo. 68. The decree is dated 14 May 1458; Tiptoft is here described as 'quidam dominus Anglicus boni status et reputacionis in partibus suis.'
13. *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, introduction, p. 130.
14. Ibid. p. 11. Advice given by the Milanese Santo Brasca in 1480.
15. *The Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 75.
16. F. C. Lane: *Venetian Ships and Ship-building of the Renaissance*; Baltimore, 1934, chap. i.
17. *Information for Pilgrims*, etc.
18. Ed. G. Williams. The *Itineraries*, MS. Bodl. 565, was written by a scribe at Edington in Wiltshire under Wey's direction in 1470.
19. *Viaggio in Terra Santa*; printed by G. Maruffi in Scelta di Curiosità letterarie rare o inedite, ed. G. Carducci, vol. 229; Bologna, 1898.
20. Ibid. p. 28.
21. His name was Peter Falk. See Allen: *Age of Erasmus*, pp. 229-30.
22. MS. Bodley 765.
23. *Wanderings*, i. 151.
24. *Colloquies*, trans. Lestrange, 1680, p. 8.
25. *Viaggio in Terra Santa*, p. 40. Roberto duly fulfilled his vow; ibid. p. 315.
26. Belabre: *Rhodes of the Knights*; Oxford, 1908, p. 19.
27. *Viaggio in Terra Santa*, p. 59. Roberto describes Tiptoft as 'Earl of Esseter.' Pronunciation of Worcester was difficult to foreigners, e.g. Waurin

who in his *Chroniques* describes Tiptoft as Earl of 'Excestre' (i. 352) and 'Ourxestre' (ii. 611).

28. This was in 1506. *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, pp. 64-5.
29. *Viaggio in Terra Santa*, pp. 69-70.
30. *The Travels and Adventures of Pero Tafur*, trans. M. Letts, p. 55.
31. These were said to be of great comfort to pregnant women.
32. *Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 70. The theme was 'Peregrinus es in Jerusalem.'
33. *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, p. 30.
34. *Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 73.
35. *Viaggio in Terra Santa*, p. 105.
36. Printed at Venice, 1692; chap. iii. pp. 43-55.
37. *The Travels and Adventures of Pero Tafur*, p. 81.
38. *The Diary of Jörg von Ehingen*, trans. M. Letts, London, 1929.
39. *Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 78.
40. *Viaggio in Terra Santa*, p. 58.
41. See *infra*, chap. ix.
42. *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, p. 56.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. *The Travels & Adventures of Pero Tafur*, p. 166.
2. Bernardus von Breydenbach: *Itinerarium*.
3. *Viaggio in Terra Santa*, p. 316.
4. Woodward: *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators*, p. 9.
5. From a letter written by Battista Guarino a few weeks after his father's death. Voigt: *Die Wiederbelebung*, etc., ii. 261, n. 1.
6. Waters: *The Vespasiano Memoirs*. Janus Pannonius became Bishop of Fünfkirchen; he was a lifelong friend of Galeotti Marzio, whom he probably met at Ferrara.
7. Woodward, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-8. See also R. Sabbadini: *Il Metodo degli umanisti*, *passim*.
8. Printed by Müllner: *Reden und Briefe Italienischer Humanisten*; Wien, 1899, and more recently by G. Bertoni as an appendix to his *Guarino da Verona*; Ginevra, 1921.
9. MS. Harley 2485, fo. 197. Gunthorpe rose to eminence in England, being appointed Ambassador on various occasions: some of his orations are preserved in MS. Bodley 587. He was Dean of Wells, Warden of King's, and a great book-collector; ten of his MSS. are now at Cambridge and four more are in the British Museum. He died in 1498.
10. A. Lazzari: 'Il Barco' di Lodovico Carbone, in *Atti e Memorie della R. Dep. Fer. di Storia Patria*; Ferrara, 1919, vol. xxiv. fasc. i.
11. British Museum; Royal MS. App. 2, fo. 8.
12. *Ibid.*; Add. MS. 20794, fo. 12-19.

13. Bodleian: MS. d'Orville 146. This was written in July 1483 and disproves the theory that Carbone died in 1482. Actually, he died in February 1485. Lazzari, *op. cit.*

14. One of these was a Greek fifteenth-century MS. of plays by Sophocles, Euripides, etc. James: *Greek MSS. in England before the Renaissance*. Fastolf died in 1460.

15. The letter is printed by W. Newman: *E.H.R.*, July 1905, p. 489.

16. Two MSS. in the Bodleian have the original dedication. Vespasiano is mistaken in saying that the work was dedicated to the 'Duke of Worcester' (as he always calls Tiptoft), for Bruni died in 1443, six years before Tiptoft was created Earl.

17. Waters: *The Vespasiano Memoirs*, p. 367.

18. G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti*; Roma, 1925. See also *Erasmi Epistolae*, ed. P. S. Allen, i. 272-3. Perotti was born in 1430 and died 1480; he was made Bishop of Sipontino. His *Rudimenta Grammatica* became a standard text-book.

19. Capgrave: *De Illustribus Henricis*, ed. F. G. Hingeston; Rolls Series, 1858.

20. R. Sabbadini: *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, iii. 500.

21. MS. Bodley 587, fo. 156-66. Some of these letters were printed by J. E. Springarn: *Unpublished letters of an English Humanist*, New York, 1902, and more recently by Stephens: *The Knowledge of Greek in England*, etc., Appendix; Philadelphia, 1933.

22. Although Voigt names three or four other Johannes of Hungary who studied under Guarino: *Die Wiederbelebung*, ii. 316.

23. In his address to the studio of Ferrara, MS. Roy., App. 2, fo. 1.

24. U. Dallari: *Rotuli dei Lettori dello studio Bolognese*, i. 151.

25. R. Proctor: *The Printing of Greek in the fifteenth century*, p. 5.

26. Synesius, Bishop of Cyrene, born A.D. 379. See R. Volkmann: *Synesios von Kyrene*; Berlin, 1869.

27. By R. Weiss: *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, viii. 101-3; 1935. Part of it had previously been printed by Beatus Rhenanus in his edition of Free's translation, Basle, 1515, but it was shorn of most of its interest. The passages quoted by Leland in his *Comment. de Script.* are full of errors and interpolations.

28. *Privy Council Proceedings*, vi. 302.

29. When the Pope heard of his misbehaviour he recalled Coppini, degraded him, and confined him in a monastery for the rest of his life. *Cardinalis Papiensis Epistolae*, 162.

30. *Commentarii*, quoted by C. M. Ady: *Pius II*, p. 160.

31. *Diario Ferrarese*, Muratori (new series), xxiv. 39-40, 41-2.

32. *Calendar of Milanese State Papers*, i. 21.

33. *Commentarii*, pp. 161-2.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Beneficiorum Collationes et privilegia doctorum, etc. See R. J. Mitchell, *English Students at Padua, 1460-1475*; Trans. of the R. Hist. Soc., 4th ser. xix. (1936) 101-3.
2. Liber Sacri Collegii D. Artistarum acta.
3. J. Facciolati: *Fasti Gymnasii Patavinci*; Padova, 1757, p. 13.
4. Benefic. Collationes, xxx. fo. 153. He was the son of Richard Lee, Lord Mayor of London.
5. Arch. di Stato, Florence. Medici avanti principati, filza 10, n. 7. A portion of the letter has been printed by G. B. Picotti: *La dieta di Mantova*, p. 362, n. 3.
6. Donato Acciaiuolo in 1455 wrote to a friend that Argiropulo was sojourning with a barbarous and uncultivated nation. H. L. Gray: *Greek visitors to England in 1455-1456* in *Anniversary Essays . . . presented to C. H. Haskins*, p. 83, etc.
7. Voigt: *Die Wiederbelebung*, trans. D. Valbusa, i. 367.
8. Vespasiano: *Vite*, etc., i. 322. This was probably on his first visit, in 1459.
9. He matriculated at Cologne, with his secretary Richard Bole, 1 Dec. 1442-3; Hermann Keussen: *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*; Bonn, 1892-1931, p. 347.
10. G. S. Scipioni: *Un cartolajo in villa*, Preludio d'Ancona, v. 90 (1880).
11. Sozomeno, or Zembino da Pistoja (d. 1458), was a friend of Poggio.
12. Now at Oxford, Balliol MS. ccxlviii. B.
13. This and other quotations from the letters are taken from Janet Ross: *Lives of the Early Medici as told in their correspondence*; London, 1910.
14. V. Rossi: *L'indole e gli studi di Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici*; Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, ser. iv, vol. ii.; Rome 1893, pp. 129-150.
15. Ibid. The scholar was Lodovico Petroni, a Sienese friend of Filelfo.
16. Macchiavelli: *Storia fiorentina*, vii. 6.
17. G. Pieraccini: *La stirpe de' Medici di Caffaggiolo*, i. 80.
18. He was the best Hebrew scholar of his generation. He wrote the *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, dedicated to Alfonso of Naples. There is a delightful MS. of this work, written by Ciriagio in 1454, in the British Museum, MS. Harley 2593. Manetti died in 1459.
19. The letter was sent with a presentation copy of the *De Calumnia*; MS. Arundel 154, fo. 41.
20. MS. Arundel 277, fo. 107^v-108. There is another copy, also with the dedication to Tiptoft, at St. John's College, Cambridge (MS. 61, fo. 105), and a third in the Vatican. Griffolini was at work on Chrysostom's *Homilies* in the pontificate of Calixtus III, i.e. before August 1458.
21. G. Mancini: *Francesco Griffolini, cognominato Francesco Aretino, Firenze, 1890*.

22. *Opera*, vii. 859.
23. Arch. di Stato, Florence. Medici avanti principati, filza 137, n. 115.
24. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1452-1461, p. 487. It was issued 16 May 1459.
25. See chap. xii. Sharp was concerned in procuring privileges for Eton College in 1448, and in September 1459 he was appointed envoy and orator in the Roman court for King Henry.
26. Now Balliol MS. 258. Bole bequeathed eleven of his MSS. to his old College.
27. C. M. Ady: *Pius II*, p. 238.
28. Aldo Manutio, in his letter to Alberto Pio (1499); *Script. Astron. Ven.*, 1499, fo. T. 1.
29. MS. Bodley 80, fo. 6v.
30. In the epilogue to the *Declamacion*.
31. *Literae Cantuarienses*, ed. J. B. Sheppard, iii. 1043.
32. MS. Arundel 68, fo. 45v. Quoted in part by Gasquet: *Eve of the Reformation in England*, p. 23, n. 3.
33. P. Egidi: *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana*, ii.
34. Ross: *Lives of the Early Medici*, etc., p. 47.
35. Balliol MS. 286.
36. *Calendar of Papal Letters*, xi. 580.
37. John Stone: *Chronicle*, p. 84.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. *Hist. Croyland Contin.*, 530-1.
2. Hall: *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, pp. 250-1. Hall was not a contemporary, but wrote temp. Henry VIII.
3. *Governance of England*, ed. Plummer, p. 130.
4. *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 181b.
5. *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii. 48 (c. 1440).
6. Wyclif: *English Works*, ed. Matthews, p. 182.
7. Quoted by Scofield: *Edward IV*, ii. 373.
8. *English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, p. 60.
9. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1461-1467, p. 62.
10. W. H. Dunham: *The Fane Fragment of the 1461 Lord's Journal*, pp. 19, 58-9.
11. *Paston Letters*, iv. 25.
12. Holdsworth: *History of English Law*, i. 576.
13. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1461-1467, p. 74. See also Maitland: *Constitutional History*, p. 266.
14. *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. lxix. The charges against him included the item that 'when any turble or enterprise was leke to fall hurt or scaythe to the King's people, the said Sir William Plumpton . . . rejoiced and [was] glad in chere and countenance.'

15. Gregory: *Chronicle*, p. 218.
16. He had been Keeper of the great wardrobe and Treasurer to the household of Henry VI.
17. *Annales*, p. 779.
18. Dated 25 March 1462. *Calendar of Milanese State Papers*, i. 106.
19. Sprott's *Chronicle*, pp. 289-90.
20. C. L. Scofield: *The Early Life of John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford*; E.H.R., April 1914.
21. *Chronicle*, pp. 4-5.
22. *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, p. 73.
23. *Vite*, i. 324.
24. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1467-1477, p. 19.
25. Holdsworth: *History of English Law*, i. 577, etc.
26. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1461-1467, p. 21. The grant is confirmed, *ibid.* p. 58. See also J. C. Cox: *The Royal Forests of England*; London, 1905, pp. 271-2.
27. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1461-1467, p. 118.
28. *Ibid.* p. 61.
29. Beltz: *Order of the Garter*, p. clxiii.; Ashmole: *Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Order of the Garter* (1672), p. 710.
30. *Calendar of Milanese State Papers*, i. 107.
31. *Paston Letters*, iv. 37-38.
32. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1461-1467, p. 182.
33. *Paston Letters*, iv. 45.
34. Rymer, *Foedera*, xi. 483.
35. *Ibid.* xi. 531. The commission was dated 12 August 1464.
36. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1461-1467, p. 182.
37. *Chronicle*, p. 221.
38. *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, p. 177.
39. Gregory: *Chronicle*, p. 222.
40. *Calendar of Letter Books*, L. p. 7.
41. The name is correctly given by Stow: *Survey of London*, ii. 36.
42. Godwin: *De Praesulibus Angliae*, p. 694.
43. They are known as the Ferrar Group. See three articles by Dr. M. R. James in the *Journal of Theological Studies*.
44. Balliol MS. cxvii.
45. MS. Bodley 753.
46. 'The Erle of Worcester brought about the maryage.' William of Wyrcester to John Paston, 1 May 1457; *Paston Letters*, iii. 118.
47. William of Wyrcester: *Annales*, p. 781.
48. Where he had four servants to attend to his wants and was allowed 26s. 8d. a week for his keep. It was the restoration of this Henry Percy to his title and estates that so disgusted Montague that he deserted Edward IV in 1469. Edward had thought he could retain Montague's loyalty by substituting the title of 'Marquis', 'and so he hade many fayre wordys and no lordeschypyps.' Warkworth: *Chronicle*, p. 4.

49. From a MS. in the College of Arms; Warkworth: *Chronicle*, p. 38.
 50. *Ibid.* pp. 38-9.
 51. Sir Thomas Grey, who was beheaded at Southampton with the Earl of Cambridge, 5 August 1415.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. Rymer: *Foedera*, xi. 520.
2. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1461-1467, pp. 348-9.
3. Pinkerton: *History of Scotland*, i., app. p. xxi.
4. *Privy Council Proceedings*, 1454, vi. 221.
5. Cotton MS. Tiber. E. viii. and MS. Ashmole 763; also in various other collections.
6. Cotton MS. Tiber. E. viii., MS. Ashmole 857, etc.
7. *Nugae Antiquae*, i. 1, etc.; *Antient Armour*, ii. 179.
8. *Bibl. Brit. Hibern.*, p. 717.
9. *Nugae Antiquae*, i. 1.
10. In 1813; *Archaeologia*, xvii. 290.
11. Ed. A. T. P. Byles for the E.E.T. Society, 1926.
12. *Paston Letters*, vi. 66-7. This MS. is now MS. Lansdowne 285 at the British Museum.
13. That is, Chester Pursuivant, who was sent by order of Edward IV. There is a contemporary account of this whole affair printed by Bentley; *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 176-97.
14. Chifflet: *Insignia gentilitia Equitum ord. Velleris Aurei*; Antwerp, 1632, no. 54, p. 31.
15. *Cal. Milanese State Papers*, i. 228.
16. Caxton: epilogue to *Cordyale*, 1479.
17. *Paston Letters*, v. 258.
18. *Calendar of Papal Letters*, xiii. 222.
19. *The Dictes or Sayengs of the Philosophres*, 1477, and *Cordyale*, 1479.
20. Olivier de la Marche: *Mémoires*; Paris, 1883, iii. 49.
21. Sir John Howard, who was cousin of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, sent in a bill of his expenses to the Duke: '... at the tyme that the Lord Skales and the Bastard of Borgoyen fowte I was at my lordes debyte at is desyre, wesche koste me more than ccc marke. The wesche my lorde moste alowe me. . . .' B. Botfield: *Manners & Household Expenses*, etc.; London, 1841, p. 170.
22. C. ffoulkes: *Jousting cheques of the xvi century*, Archaeologia, 2nd series, xiii. 31-50.
23. *Excerpta Historica*, p. 172.
24. Gregory: *Chronicle*, p. 236.
25. Philip died at Bruges, but was buried at Dijon with his ancestor.
26. O. Cartellieri: *The Court of Burgundy*; London, 1929, p. 131.
27. *Paston Letters*, iv. 298.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. *Annals*, p. 386.
2. Scofield: *Edward IV*, i. 13.
3. Ormonde died on a pilgrimage to Palestine in 1478.
4. Gilbert: *Viceroy of Ireland*, p. 382.
5. *Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters*, p. 1051.
6. *Calendar of Carew Papers*, 1575-1578; Appendix, p. cv.
7. Gilbert: *Viceroy of Ireland*, p. 384.
8. *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, p. 36, line 699, etc.
9. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1461-1467, p. 488.
10. Ibid. 1467-1477, p. 28.
11. Ibid. p. 29.
12. Ibid. p. 136.
13. Ibid. p. 43.
14. William of Wyrcester: *Annales*, p. 788.
15. *Statute Rolls, Ireland*, 1-12 Edward IV, pp. 455-9.
16. In 1465. *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1461-1467, p. 428; Ibid. 1467-1477, p. 28. See also *Victoria County History of Surrey*, i. p. 94. To Tiptoft, as Master of the Gild, Edward IV granted the fruits of the alien priory of Tooting Bec in frankalmoign, 'for the sustenance of two chaplains to celebrate divine service for the welfare of the King, his mother and brothers, and all faithful departed, especially those who had shed blood in his cause.' The Gild retained Tooting Bec until 1548, when it came to the Crown on the confiscation of all gild property, and was sold by Edward VI to the Earl of Warwick.
17. *Statute Rolls, Ireland*, 1-12 Edward IV; pp. 465-7.
18. Ibid. pp. 573-5.
19. *The Book of Howth*, fo. 113; *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, pp. 186-8.
20. Thomas Russell's Relation of the Fitzgeralds in Ireland, 1638. *Unpublished Geraldine Documents*, p. 71.
21. British Museum, Add. MS. 4791, fo. 139.
22. Sackville and Ferrers: *Mirrour for Magistrates*, ii. 203.
23. Her first husband, John Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby, had been killed at St. Albans fighting for Margaret of Anjou against Warwick.
24. *The Book of Howth*, fo. 113; *Cal. Carew MSS.*, p. cvii.
25. *Statute Rolls, Ireland*, p. 661.
26. Ibid. p. 609.
27. Ibid. p. 699.
28. Printed by I. D. Thorneley: *England under the Yorkists*, pp. 256-9.
29. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1467-1477, pp. 161-2, 193.
30. *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. J. T. Gilbert; London, 1884, ii. xvii.
31. *Statute Rolls, Ireland*, p. 723.
32. Ibid. p. 797.

33. *Statute Rolls, Ireland*, pp. 677-8.
34. *Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters*, p. 1069.
35. See the *Kildare Book of Hours*, an Anglo-Flemish Manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan collection. On fo. vii. is a note in the calendar under 14 July:—‘Isto die natus erat Edwardus fil: Johannis comitis Wigornie circa horam terciam post meridien 1469.’

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, p. 183.
2. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1461-1467, p. 380.
3. Scofield: *Edward IV*, i. 193.
4. Municipal Records of Shrewsbury, *Hist. MSS. Commission XV*, part 10, p. 30.
5. The confession is printed in *Excerpta Historica*, p. 283, etc.
6. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1467-1477, p. 205.
7. *Ibid.* p. 207.
8. *Ibid.* p. 211.
9. *Ibid.* p. 23.
10. Vespasiano: *Vite*, i. 323.
11. *The Brut*, ed. F. W. Brie, p. 481.
12. Warkworth: *Chronicle*, p. 9.
13. Commines: *Mémoires*, ii. 189.
14. G. Pardi: *Borsone d'Este*; Pisa, 1907.
15. William of Wyrcester: *Annales*, p. 789.
16. *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, c. 22.
17. Jardine: *Readings on Torture*; London, 1837.
18. *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, pp. 182, 183.
19. Reprinted from the edition of 1529 by T. F. Dibdin, p. 282.

NOTES TO CHAPTER X

1. *Mémoires*, i. 197.
2. King's Lynn Corporation MSS. Hall Book, ii. fo. 284. Quoted by W. I. Haward: *Economic Aspects of the Wars of the Roses in East Anglia*; E.H.R., April 1926.
3. Warkworth: *Chronicle*, p. 11.
4. *Mémoires*, i. 202.
5. Capgrave: *Chronicle*, p. 284. This was in 1402.
6. This story is told by Vespasiano, *Vite*; it seems to come from the same source as his account of Tiptoft's death. No other account is nearly so full of detail.
7. *Paston Letters*, v. 85.
8. *Calendar of Milanese State Papers*, i. 143.
9. *Plumpton Correspondence*, pp. 19-20. See C. L. Scofield: *The Early Life of John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford*; E.H.R., April 1914.

10. Stow: *Annals*, p. 423.
11. Warkworth: *Chronicle*, p. 13.
12. *Chronicle*, p. 286. ' . . . Exercising there [in Ireland] more extreme crueltie (as the fame went) then princely pity.'
13. Fabyan: *Chronicle*, pp. 663-4.
14. *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p. 216.
15. *Storia fiorentina*, lib. iv. This was in 1426.
16. *Vite*, i. 325-6, cap. iii.
17. Epilogue to the *Declamacion*.
18. Macchiavelli: *Il Principe*.
19. *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, p. 183.
20. *Chronicle*, p. 13.
21. Leland: *De Scriptoribus*, p. 481.
22. Gules, a cross engrailed argent. See Chas. E. Keyser: *Some notes on some xv century glass in the church of Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen*, 1907, p. 12. I am indebted to the Rev. A. T. Richards, Vicar of Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen, for calling my attention to this passage.
23. M. R. James: *Suffolk and Norfolk*; London, 1930, p. 213. See also Lucy Menzies: *The Saints in Italy*, London, 1924, for short biographies of the Italian saints.
24. V. E. Krusmann: *op. cit.*
25. On this whole question, see Blore: *Rutland*, p. 46; Weever: *Ancient Funeral Monuments*; and Bentham: *History of Ely*, p. 287, etc.
26. Prior and Gardner: *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, p. 682.
27. Hartshorne: *Notes on collars of SS*; *Archaeological Journal*, xxxix.
- 376.
28. A. P. Cust: *The collar of SS*; Leeds, 1910.
29. He himself is buried at Ely; he died in 1478.
30. *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 450^b.
31. *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, temp. Henry VII, i. 21.
32. Burke's *Extinct Peerage*; London, 1883.
33. *Worthies of Cambridgeshire*, p. 155.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

1. In Tiptoft's translation of the *Declamacion*; see Appendix I.
2. The arms are incorrectly described in the *Catalogue of Royal MSS.*
3. Sir G. F. Warner: *Descriptive Catalogue of the Illuminated MSS. in the library of C. Dyson Perrins, Esq.*, 1920, p. 64.
4. J. W. Clark: *Notes on Chained Libraries*; Camb. Antiq. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1891-2, viii. i.
5. B. Botfield: *Prefaces to the First Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, p. xvii.
6. A. C. Clark: *The re-appearance of the texts of the Classics*; The Library, June 1923.

4. H. B. Lathrop, in *Modern Language Notes*, December 1926, xxv. 496, etc., prints a section of the three parallel versions which clearly proves this point.
5. *The Prologues & Epilogues of William Caxton*, ed. W. J. B. Crotch; E.E.T.S., 1928, p. 42.
6. *Commentarii De Scriptoribus*, p. 480. Cf. Bale: *Script. Bryt. Catalogus*, pp. 620-1.
7. *Itinerary*, p. 386. Waynflete gave him no reward and not even a word of encouragement.
8. *Prologues & Epilogues*, pp. 46-7.
9. *Typographical Antiquities*, pp. 128-9.
10. See Lathrop, *op. cit.*, p. 499; e.g. *navis longa*=une longue nef, que nous disons maintenant une gallee=a longe shyppe (whych we call a Gallye).
11. He died 1501. He was a friend of Erasmus, and wrote several Latin works; he took a leading part in the introduction of printing into Paris in 1470. P. S. Allen: *Erasmi Epistolae*, i. 146 n.
12. Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus*, wrongly calls him 'Banatusus Magnomontanus'.
13. H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino*; Berlin, 1928, p. 181.
14. See Appendix, p. 215.
15. *Ibid., passim*.
16. Casotti: *Prose e rime de due Buonaccorsi*, etc., 1718, p. 72.
17. MS. Harl.: 4402, fo. 110.
18. As Gayus Flammineus speaks of having served in the battle against Mithridates (66 B.C.) the later period of the Republic is suggested.
19. Julia Cartwright: *Baldassare Castiglione*; London, 1908, ii. 441.
20. Hoby: *Courtier*, ed. Sir W. Raleigh, pp. 297, 84.
21. A. W. Reed: *Early Tudor Drama*, pp. 97-8.
22. *Fulgens and Lucre*, ii. 755-9.
23. *Ibid.* ii. 768-72.
24. *Ibid.* i. 1090-8.
25. Epilogue to the *Declamacion*; *Prologues & Epilogues of William Caxton*, ed. Crotch, p. 47.
26. The Rev. W. Hunt, in the *Dic. Nat. Biog.*
27. *Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica*, p. 717.
28. Tanner MS., 268, fo. 102-4 (Bodleian).
29. By the late Canon R. Maxwell Woolley. See Bibliography.
30. It is not, apparently, to be found at Lichfield (which might have been intended) nor in any of the more probable libraries, such as Wells, Ely, Salisbury, etc. A question in *Notes and Queries*, 16 April 1927, and exhaustive search of both likely and unlikely places, has failed to produce it.
31. Lord Orford: *Royal and Noble Authors*, ed. Park, i. 206, n. 7.
32. B. Botfield: *Notes on the Cathedral Libraries of England*; London, 1849, p. 268.

33. V. E. Krusmann: *John Tiptoft* [in Russian], *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction of St. Petersburg*; January 1914, pp. 45-6.
34. *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, i. 85-6.
35. Arch. di Stato; Venice. Senato Mar. Reg., i. 36. Quoted by M. Newett: *Canon Pietro Casota's Pilgrimage*, p. 71.
36. Zonta and Brotto: *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini*, 1406-1450; Padova, 1922, p. 392.
37. *Ibid.* p. 413.
38. *Ibid.* p. 414. His *promotores* were William Grimstede, of the diocese of Salisbury; Reynold Chichele, afterwards ultramontane rector at Ferrara; and John Aleyn, who took a further degree at Bologna and became orator of the Lord Mayor of London at the papal court.
39. *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1452-1461, p. 147.
40. *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 876.
41. *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1452-1461.
42. Rymer: *Foedera*, xi. 378.
43. *Ibid.* xi. 737; *Rolls of Parliament*, vi. 92.
44. Hatcylf gave a certificate declaring the suspicion of leprosy to be false. Rymer: *Foedera*, xi. 635.
45. *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, v. 85.
46. *Bekynton Correspondence*, i. 223.
47. *Ibid.* i. 178.
48. *Calendar of Papal Letters*, xi. 26.
49. Rymer: *Foedera*, xi. 378.
50. *Calendar of Papal Letters*, xi. 680.
51. *Panegyricus, elegiae, epigrammatica*; Venice, 1553, p. 27.
52. L. Frati: *Una Miscellanea umanistica . . . di Bologna*; Trieste, 1910.
53. Castiglione: *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. L. E. Opdyke; London, 1902, p. 136.

APPENDIX I

THE DECLAMACION OF NOBLESSE

Translated *c.* 1460 by JOHN TIPTOFT from the
CONTROUERSIA DE NOBILITATE
of Buonaccorso da Montemagno, *d.* 1429

Printed by Caxton in 1481

APPENDIX I

THE DECLAMACION OF NOBLESSE

[Necessary emendations are shown in square brackets; unusual words are explained in footnotes. The punctuation has been modernised, but the spelling, except in obvious cases of misprint, is untouched.]

*here foloweth the Argument of the declamacyon, which laboureth to fo.
shewe wherin honoure sholde reste:*

WHAN Thempyre of Rome moste floured, And was in the age of his force and strengthe, The fame of one named Fulgeus was right ferre spredde to his grete worship, for he was righte eurous¹ to [i.e. in] richesse, honoure, and frendship, Also gretly riche as wel of the grace and good wille of alle the Cytseysns of Rome, as of other gyttes of fortune. And he had by his wyf named Claudea a doughter of surmountyng beaute called and named Lucresse, which was thonly hope of his conforte and sustentacion in the yeres of his age, fer besyde her merueyllous beaute, wherin she excelled alle the vyrgyns of Rome in tho dayes, Ther was in her so grete attemperaunce of lyf, with so worshipful conduyt of maners, so grete force of wisedom, with so plenteuous vnderstandingyng of lectrure, that it shewed her to lacke nothyng that coude be wylled or wesshed ony worshipful creature to haue of honoure or vertue. Neuertheles emong many that hertly loued her, ther were tweyne in especial, which dayly more & more brenned in the loue of the fayre Lucresse. And bytwene them was lytil difference in semelynesse of persone or age. But theyr maners and fortune were gretely different. The one of them and the fyrst was named Publius Cornelius of the worshipful hows and stocke called fo. 29^v.

¹ Lucky, prosperous.

Cornelii, And he habounded gretely in the goodes of fortune, ffor though he was noble of byrthe Yet therto he was gretely stufed of Richesse, wel furnysshed of frendes, his housholde plenteuously garnysshed of servauntes, and all apparaylmentyss in those dayes vsed. And his grete studye rested in huntyng, haukyng, syngyng, & disporte.

That other & the seconde, whiche hyghte Gayus Flamynneus was born of a lower stocke, And he had moderate Richesse, resonable plente of that as apperteyned to an houssholt or thapparaylyng of the same, how be it, he had moch better & more worshipfull fortune. And that not withstondyng, he shewed hymself neuir the more slack in that he shold doo, traynyng hymself alwey to floure in vertue and good maners, but his grete studye was with his dilygence and seruyse to helpe his frende and contrey whan eyther of them had nede of his helpe. In tyme of werre he shewed hymself manly & corageous, And in tyme of peas right besye and laboryous in his bokes, so that in tyme of werre he was furnysshed of counseylle. And he counseylled nothynge but suche as hymself ful lyke a man wolde take his parte in. He excellyd gretely in attemperaunce of lyuyng, prudence and eloquence aboue that it was credyble or coude be supposyd in ony of his yeres. And of the said noble vertues, he was gretely praysed of all the people of Rome. Hit fortuned thise two yong men to mete of auenture at the hous of this Fulgeus fader vnto fayre Lucresse, theyr ententes and causes of comyng lyke as it was proued by theyr ouverture was that eyther of theym desired in as goodly langage as he coude, the good will and parfyght fauour of Fulgeus touchyng his daughter Lucresse, so as she myght owe her fauour to hym in especial byfore ony other. Thus eyther of theym desired Lucresse, and her fader vnderstandingyng theyr playsyrs wente for to haue speche with his daughter, to thentente to gyue theym answere. And whan he had declared to fayre Lucresse the honorable desires of thise two lusty yonge Romaynes, And consydered wel that his daughter was in the flour of her yeres, he yaf to her his fadrely aduys that she shold entende to maryage, & sette her herte vpon one of thies tweyne, that is to saye Publius Cornelius or Gayus Flamynneus. And Lucresse first with a shamefast



countenaunce, whan she herde her faders declaracyon and aduyse, excused her full humbly and womanly shewyng her self to be alle other wise sette. But her fader charged her so streytyl, that her excuse in that byhalue myght take no place, Ne other meane was none, but that she must chese one of thise tweyne, that is to wytte, eyther Publius or Gayus. And thenne delyberacion taken with her self, this was her fynal answere.

Thanswere of Lucresse vnto her fader

RYGHTE worshipful fader of me youre humble doughter best byloued and moost drad, I dar in no wyse disobeye your commaundement yeuen vnto me; on your bless-^{fo.} yng, I praye you chese for me and to your sone in lawe, the more noble of bothe. Vpon the whiche her answere ther grewe grete contrauersye bytwene thies two yong Romaynes, and grete hertebrennyng, whiche of theym tweyne sholde haue be counted for more noble. And for as moche as lyke thynges had not be seen byfore, And that thanswere of Lucresse was openly publysshed, the mater was brought byfore the Senate, where eyther of theym had suche langage for his parte by waye of Oracion as ensieweth.

The Oracion of Publius Cornelius Scipio

SYTH it is so that my lady Lucresse hath willed and desired to haue the more noble of vs tweyne, Ye ffaders conscript, whiche of you is he, that vnderstandeth openly how Publius Cornelius Scipio, born and descended of the noble and worshipful blood and hous of the Cornelyes, muste by alle reason and right haue and enioye the glorye of this moost goodly choyse. Who is he wel aduyised that doubted that to be noblesse whiche we take of the stocke of oure worthy olders, syth they lefte that vnto theyr heyres and successors as the richest parte of theyr enherytaunce, ffor whan they haue atteyned the fame of worshipful dedes by them parfyghted, and deserued laude of knyghtly discipline, ripe maners, grete vertue, and hygh glorye, and

haue meryted a name bryght and Immortal, with hye and grettest worshippes, that they haue atteyned to the places and offices of grettest auctorite in our cytee, And so called the veray

fo. 31.

noblesse & worship by the remembraunce of the whiche all theyr yssue is nobled. Yf it so be that we brynge oure childe ren in to this world as parte of our blood, membres, bones, & bowellys, how shold they be otherwise called than the partes of our bodye, the whiche graunted, hyt muste folowe necessarily that theyr heyres, partes of theyr bodye, be parteners of theyr glorye. Ande such parte of glorye as they receyue, they leue vnto theyr childe ren, as to the partyes of theyr body, And so to be continued to the laste of that kynrede. Sothe it is, that the lykenesse of the faders be for the more parte shewed in the childe ren, by thordenaunce and establisshement of nature, And somtyme they be veryly lyke that nothyng in beaute and personnages can be founde different. And so that duryng the lyf of the sone the fader may not be foryeten, Item many faders and childe ren ben so lyke in maners that theyr wyttes & maner of lyuyng be wel nyghe conformable, the childe ren be so norysshed and brought vp in theyr faders house se the whiche theyr famlyer custommes and dayly conuersacion of speche and delynge to gydre muste nedes drawe them to conformyte of maners, syth it draweth theym which be foreynes full ofte vnto the same. By the which reasons it sheweth euydently that custome and nature haue ful grete force and strengthe in childe ren, and impressyng in theym ful hugely his force, So that for the more parte yf the fader and moder be vycious, they leue alwey a spotte vnto alle theyr progenye, And yf they be vertuous they leue to theym a bryght fame, suche as withoute theyr demerytes may not be taken from theym. I coude remembre vnto you many yf ye wil not thynke me to longe which haue had worshipful faders & therfor without ony other cause haue ben called forthwith noble. Who is [he] that wel vnderstandeth the worship of Fucius Camillus that wolde not juge his childe ren noble & honourable syth he delyuerd the cyte in most extreme peryll out of the hondes of our enemyes, And so he allone repared and preserued the weal of our thynge publyque. Who is he also in lyke wise that wil not thynke the childe ren of

fo. 31v.

Fabius, Cato, and Emilius worthy fame and noblesse, syth by the vertue of theyr said faders the cyte was sette in so grete worship and surete. And they therfore receyued so often theyr tryumphys. Who is he that will not trowe that our wele publyque is gretely behoden to the childeren of theym whiche so often put them self wilfully, theyr lyf, theyr goodes, and alle that they hadde in grettest jeoparde and peryll for the same, ffor yf theyr faders wel and worshipfully acquyted theym self in that byhalue And caused our cyte to floure in so grete worshipp and glorye, fforsothe me semeth it were ouer vnykynde yf it wolde not haue theym in perpetual and worshipful remembraunce. And therfore in so moche as oure olders wold not ben holde but kynde, they ordeyned and establisshed by theyr statutes and lawes publyque that who someuir they were, that chastysed theyr enemyes, destressed grete folkes, or subdewed contrees to theyr obeyssance, shold receyue at theyr retorne that glorye that was vnto an Emperor, with worshipful Tryumphis openly yeuen, by the whiche they shold be exalted in worship lyke vnto a godde Inmortall. Grauen ymages also, representyng theyr lykenesse, sholde be sette in the places where thassembee of the people oftenest & most amplly was had. Also theyr names to theyr perpetuel laude were wryten in the stone werkes enbowed¹ called the Arches tryumphal, tappere clerely to alle theyr heyres and successors. The whiche Arches tryumphal Romaynes vysyted and worshipped certayn dayes of the yere by theym lymyted and ordeygned. Wherfore, it shold seme, yf suche and so grete worship was due vnto the grauen ymages, the same and gretter is due vnto theyr childeren and progenye, ffor tho grauen ymages were but a co[un]terfeted representacion of theyr persones and victoryes, And in theyr childeren nature hath lyeffully enprynted and shewed veryly the same, and so ordeygned that they may doo grete & good seruyse to the weal publyque, whereas the dede stones may ful lytil ease or proufyte. And theyr childeren, callyng vnto theyr mynde the noble dedes of theyr progenytours, maye be so sette vnto the folowynge of theym that they shold mowe doo

¹ Arched, vaulted.

many thynges ful weleful and commodyous for oure estate publyque, And sette asyde many thynges noyesaunt & peryllous for the same. And therfor ful ofte for the reward of theyr faders merytes, oure Cytezeyns haue youen to theym dyuerse offices of grete auctorite and worshippe. Also, more ouer, ther is no wise man that vnderstandeth hyimself nere his dayes and tyme of deth gyueth charge so gretely of ony thynge erthely as of that that he shal mowe leue his childeeren to lyue worshipfullly

fo. 32v.

afir theyr disceas. Ne in theyr age they can not understande ony thynge more pleasaunt or ioyous vnto yhem than yf their childeeren by theyr vertues be called to estate and worshipp. We see also that the chief of theyr thought and pleasure is vpon theyr childeeren, And some thynke they can not age ne wexe olde whyle their childeeren ben a lyue, ne that they be vnforsaken by humanyte all the whyle their childeeren enioyen it. Whiche premyses preue that the loue of the faders emong all the desires of mortal men can not be thought to reste so gretely in ony one thynge as in theyr childeeren, & yf it so be that the pryncipal thought of the faders bothe fyrst and laste resteth in the childeeren, & in theym and for theym they haue theyr plesaunce and care, The sequele is vpon this cyte that they muste thynke chiefly it be kept and holden to the childeeren of theym, I mene of tho faders whiche haue so meryted thanke and laude for that they haue doon for the same cyte, And furthirmore worshippe and make moche of theym, at the reuerence of theyr faders, and to vse and excercise that kyndenesse in theym wherin they fawted in power to recompense the merytes to theyr said faders whyles they lyued. Therfore, me semeth, this is the hyest part of noblesse, to come of theyr auncestres of whom they may recounte and reherce the noble dedes many tymes worshipfullly achieued and parfyghted truly & without colour, And for theyr benefaytes theyr yssue may duely desyre, And by title of enherytaunce chalenge, the offices of estate & worshippe in this cyte or ony other place, and remembre theym self how they be veray partyes of tho bodyes which haue ben so worshipful, beryng the lykenesse, ymage, and prynce aftir theym. Who is he that wolde not juge theym noble, namely whan alle men ben of the same oppynyon, Parde the comyne people calle theym onely

fo. 33.

noble whiche ben descended of noble Auncestry; fferthermore, sothe it is that the habundaunce of Rychesse embellyssheth gretely noblesse, by the whiche Rychesse, the seruauntes and alle other conuenyentes for the well beseeeyng of the hows, ben had more goodly and playsaunt. And suche thynges also as outward possessions, And foreyn causes, ben better susteyned and serued. Frendship, also, and attendaunce of neyghbours is by that meane purchased. And who is he that can thynke that he sholde mowe wel helpe his frendes in tyme of theyr nede, which maye not of hym self releue his owne necessytye? Wherfor me semeth the chief and hyest parte of noblesse muste reste in lyberalyte. And as I sayde, he payneth hym self vaynely to exercise lyberalyte to other folkes which hath not whereof to vse it to hym self. It is necessarye thenne, that he that will be lyberall habounde in goodes of fortune, thenne his noblesse shal shewe bryght by meane of lyberalyte. And the lusty brightnes of many noble persones is derked & seaced whan they lacke that wherof they shold be lyberall. How many noble & chosen men haue there ben that whan they haue be brought to the poynt of pouert haue ben holden & taken for vyle And of none estymacyon; how many hye & noble men haue deyed vnknownen for lacke of good, whos vertue myght not conduyte theym to the fauoure of prynces for that they lacked that which ^{fo. 33v.} was necessarye for sustencion of their lyuyng. Thenne habundaunce of good is a grete and asouerayn helpe to the shewe and settynge oute of the werkes of noblesse, by the whiche the courage may be enforced with grete hardynes, And the vertue of noblesse maye more clerely appere. And yf it so be that noblesse resteth in blood and rychesse, as it must nedes, which of you is it, faders conscript, that doubteth my blood And my hauoys remembryd? But that I shold mow wel chalenge to be one of the moost noble of this cyte, ffor who is he that hath fought more manly for our estate publyque than myn Auncestres, Or where may be founde emong vs that hath putt hym self in gretter jeopardy for the same than they? Or by gretter force and vertue hath sette a syde fro this cyte peryll and dissounoure lykly to haue falle to the same? Where can ye remembre that ony haue subdued to your obeyssance so moch of this

world as myn auncestres haue doon : ffor one of theym, whan he had chastysed the prowde courages of the Kynges of Asie and dyuerse other nacions, deserued the name of Asie to be ioyned to his name for a perpetuel memorye of his victorye. Another of theym in the tyme whan ytalye laboured in the suffraunce of the cruell force of oure enemyes whiche neyther spared to brenne, slee, and waste all the countrees enuyrone, I meane aftir the grete bataylle of Gueius, delyuered the cyte all occupied with wepyng, waylyng, and woo, despeyred of releef by the puyssaunce of Hanybal, thenne oure enemye, consydered with his dayly victoryes, enchaced the sayd Hanybal from oure londes of Italy in to his owne contrey, where he put hym to perpetuel rebuke, And subdued the estately cyte of Cartage, which had alwey vs in hate, to our obessaunce ; by the which victorye he meryted the name of Affryca to be knytte with his name. And for as moche as the thryd Scipio in the tyme of the rebelles of Cartage whan he had made the wallys & byldynges euen with the grounde, The said name of Affryca he and his successors enioyed as a surname where in they were enheryted. I passe ouer to speke of other, by whos vertue and glorye this Cyte was soueraynly praysed and dradd, ffor yf I wold reherce you the worshipful dedes and actes of euerych of myn auncestres, I shold peraduenture occupye you to longe, And I shold not vnderstonde myself whan I shold make an ende. And I may moche more gladly and leeffully in this byhalue put my self to sylence, syth that theyr famous dedes be to theyr Infynyte lawde notayrely knownen of you alle ; ffor where is the place in this cyte that is voyde of the tryumphal wrytyng of myn Auncestres : or where is that temple that is not enourmed with the ryche espoyle of their victoryes : what sacred places can we see here, In which the pyctour or grauyng of their ymages is not : And they be suche & as grete remembraunces of theyr noblesse as is leefful for ony mortal man to wyll or desyre. Which premyses preue euydently in how grete noblesse of blood I am enheryted, ffor I bere in me the veray ymage of theym, ffor who so euer knewe theym, & now seeth me, maye not faill to calle theym vnto his mynde. I am he that represente[th] their blood, theyr membres, and theyr shappe in this

body which I bere aboute ; of theym I cam, In theyr howses I was nourysshed, and with theym I dwellyd tyl I atteyned the yeres of my force. And so I am descended of the strene of theyr noblesse, that in no wise it may be taken fro me, and yf this cyte be dettour vnto theym ffor theyr benefaytes, I muste nedes clayme as theyr heyr parte of the same dette. And, me semeth, I may chalenge of you worshypful faders of right suche offices of worship as shall falle in your yefte, ffor I trowe ther were neuir none more worshipful endowed with noble courage than myne auncestres, which vnto me lefte as grete plente of noblesse and rychesse as can of ony persone be wylled or desyred, ffor my fader lefte vnto me fayre and stately places, wel and plenteuously fornysshed of alle maner thynge which shold be longe vnto theym, so that whan they be arayed and honged with suche stuff as he left me, there is ful lytil difference bytwene the palayses of kynges and my byldynges. I haue thenne without the subarbes places of disporte as lustely and pleasauntly bylded as can be deuysed ; besyde that I haue in champayne, ffertyle feldes, ryche posseessions and fayr vyllages, whiche be able to receyue not only a grete howshold, but a grete hoost, And furnysshe them haboundauntly of alle maner of vitayll. What howshold I kepe, and how it is beseen, Alle the peple of this cyte knowe well ynough ; fforsothe I haue so grete plente of the yefys of fortune, and of my worshipfull progenytours, that I dare say, so that no man ther with be displeased, that there be fewe in this cyte, in byrthe and rychesse, whiche excelle me. Thenne lete Gayus Flammynus put hym self to sylence, and namely in this stryf of noblesse, or in the desyre of fair Lucresse, syth, in byrthe and rychesse, he maye chalenge no parte of noblesse. Namely, syth it is to vs alle vnknownen from whens he cam, and whether he haue ony lytle pyece of erthe to bylde vpon a cote or lodge. And therfor of veray right I aske this fayr lady whiche is to be maryed, that hath chosen me, syth I am more noble than Flammineus, and therfore I haue best deseruyd to be perpetual seruaunt to her moost beautyuous grace duryng my lyf. And ye my lady Lucresse haue right grete cause to be right glad, and thanke our goddes hertely, which haue endowed you with so grete wisedom and grace, ffor ye cowde not haue

fo. 35^v.

chosen a more faythful ne more obeyssaunt seruaunt, ne one that loueth you more hertely, ne one with whome ye sholde passe your yeres more prosperously, ffor I shal brynge you to my lodgyng where ye shal see estately byldynges of halle and chambres conuenient for a kynge. Next, ye shall see the chambre of playsaunce wyth ryche and playsaunt beddes and hangynges, also the ryche pyeces of clothes of gold and sylke for youre arayement, and ye shal chese as moche as shal please you of theym. Ye shal not be vexid with comyn labours, ye shal lede youre lyf with pleasaunt ydelnesse, and ye shall not nede to breke youre slepe to thynke how ye shal gete you moneye to lyue at youre lyberte as it shal best please you. And ye shal not nede to thynke on onythynge but how ye shal be mery in syngyng, daunsynge, huntyng, hawkynge, and suche other dispordes of pleasaunce. And ye shal haue suche gentil wymmen to be parteners of your playsyrs as ye wil chese, and other maydens whiche shal be redy to obeye youre commaundementes. Ther shal no day passe you that ye ne shal haue som disperte of pleasaunce, and I shal enforce me to make you passe the nyghtes meryly. And Flammeneus myght cuyl promyse you thise thynges, syth he is of such pouerte that he lacketh alle thyse hym self. And with hym forsothe ye sholde lede ouer wretchid and careful lyf, ffor in stede of estately and playsaunt beddes and hangynges, ye shal fynde in his hows such as they vse vpon londe. And in stede of playsaunt ydelnes ye shal fynde ouer peyneful besynesse, in stede of reste, laboure, and in stede of slepe, watche. And ther shold no daye passe you ferre, without laboure and occupacion. Who is he therfore that supposeth but that fayr Lucresse wolde haue me to her seruant whan she cheseth the more noble of vs tweyne? Fforsothe Madame ye vnnethe¹ [might] speke more openly, in this your wysest and moost discrete choys, onlesse that ye had named me by name; ful womanly & couertly ye expressyd your desire, & where your shamefast womanhed wolde not saye, I desyre Cornely, ye sayde, I desire the more noble of theym tweyne. It were ouer grete a folye to deme otherwyse, ffor who is he that wolde

¹ Hardly, scarcely.

byleue that ye wold forsake playsant reste, & chese peynful besiness? Therfor ye faders conscript acordyng vnto your estates & dysgnytees gyue ye a rightuous sentence in this mater.

Thus endeth the Oracion of Cornelius Scipio.

fo. 36.

And here foloweth the oracion of Gayus Flammineus.

WORSHIPFUL faders conscript, syth I am enforced to speke for my parte of [n]oblenes, me semeth I haue a veray grete grace to haue you to my Juges, whiche be moost noble, & endowed with moste assured courage. Ther can nowher be founde ony which haue so parfyght vse of noblesse as ye, and it is the thynge to my souerayn conforte and ioye whan I remembre you so ful of equyte & right, hauyng so parfyght knowledge of thynges, with a customed vse of vertue. Thenne, I shal not mowe suffre of you ony wronge, or saye ony thynge not knownen to you, or remembre ony vertu the whiche ye your self vse not. In this contrauersye fforsothe, faders conscript, it is to gyue more sad and quyck audyence than in ony other pryuate stryues, ffor this is a Jugement that shal concerne [not] onely two cyteseyns or one particuler persone, but it is a thynge that toucheth alle folke, & shal euer be had in remembraunce, and shal be named thorough alle the world, therterne lawe of the sacred Senate of Rome. Ye maye see this daye, otherwise than it hath ben aforetime seen, how alle the pepole of Rome ben present, and lye in awayte vpon youre Jugement. And ye maye beholde the syght and loke of youre Cytezeyns and foreynes cast and fyxed vpon you; and to theym it is not only comfortable to vnderstande whiche of vs tweyne fo. 36^v. shal haue fair Lucresse, but whiche of vs shold be Juged for more noble. Therfor, I exhorte youre grete wisedom to aduerte the weyght of this mater, ffor how be it Justice is to be tendred and kepte in euery mater, yet it is mooste to be take heed of and to be vsed in hyghe and grete maters. And, faders conscript, I beseche you to pardone me for your grete humanyte and noblesse, though I speke more sharply in this mater than I haue

ben a customed afore this to be myne owne herawde ne to saye
 euyll of ony other personc withoutte grete cause. Syth I knowe
 well the fyrst proccedeth of an Inmoderate corage, & the seconde
 of an impacient herte, nathelcs I am enforced to the fyrst, that
 is to saye myself, syth I muste nedes defende myn owne nobles,
 & to the seconde I am compellyd by the surquydous boost and
 wantoun langage of Cornely, which hath spoken lately byfore
 you lytil worship of me, temptyng his softnesse with his sharpe
 wordes. And yet, he gaf me by that grete helpe & socoure in
 my cause, bothe to rebuke and to represse his lacke of shame-
 fast[n]esse. Ffaders conscript, ye haue vnderstanden the playsyr
 of noble Lucresse touchyng the choys of vs twcyne, and howe
 Cornelius hath be bolde to descriyue noblesse, and sette it in
 blood and rychesse, and so to preue that he is more noble than
 I, & ferthermore tolde of the worshipful dedes of his auncestres,
 and how grete Rychesse and hauoyrs his fadre had lefte to hym.
 Soth it is that the substaunce of his speche resteth in this, but
 he coude nothyng remembre of hym self, that he had doo ony
 thynge worthy or dygne of rehersayll or remembraunce, and
 therfore he vttred nothyng of his owne lyf and maners. And
 forsothe I trowe that noblesse resteth not in the glorye of an
 other man, or in the flytting goodes of fortune, but in a mannes
 owen vertu and gloriye; ffor what is noblesse other than a
 certayn excellencye in vertue and manhode, whiche proueth one
 man worthy to be preferred another? Ffor semblably as man
 excelleth alle other beestys, and not for his force but for his
 reason, so by the vertu that one man hath, whiche another hath
 not, he excellyth hym. Ffor whan a man hath be excercised in
 the craftes of gretest noblesse, that is to saye, in Justice, pyte,
 constaunce, Magnanymyte, Attemperaunce, and prudence,
 deseruying a fame of excellencye in theym, and hath quyte hym
 wel to the goddes Inmortall, to his fader and moder, to his
 frendes, kynne, and his contreye, and hath be nourysshed and
 brought vp in the doctryne of lectrure, thenne me semeth for-
 sothe he shold be called and reputed more noble worshipful &
 more famous than another, as Corneli hym self saide a lytil by-
 fore, whan he spak of his owne maners. And on that other syde,
 he that is corrupt with cursed craftes, and betaketh hym self

to cruelnesse, rechele[s]nesse, Cowardyse, dys temperaunce and Iniustyce, and gyueth no force of Relygyon, ne of the good wille of his frendes, or not to vse pyte to his fader and moder in tyme of theyr nede, fforsoth, me semeth, he shold be Juged of alle men a wretche, vnnoble, shameful, and worthy to be sette a syde fro alle good compayne. It is not habondaunce of Rychesse, ne the noblenes of byrthe that may gyue or take away ^{fo. 37v.} noblesse fro ony persone, ffor the courage of man is the veray restyng place of noblesse, the whiche dame nature themperesse of alle thynges here bynethe hath ordeyned and establisshed to haue chief preemynence in the lyf of man, and hath ensude it euenly in alle men mortall fro the fyrist day of theyr byrthe. And she neuir joined it to the enherytaunce of possessions, ffor she wyll be at her lyberte & fredam by thaduyse of vertue, to gyue it to whom she lyketh beste. And lyke wise as a glasse or a myrrour wel made sheweth the fygure sette by fore it, yf it be faire, fairer, & yf it be fowle, fowler, so the courage which is pure & free is disposed to take noblesse or In noblesse indifferently. And ther shold no man accuse the largesse of nature in this moost best and excellent gyfte of fredom, ffor she gyueth to euery man a lyke courage, and taketh none heede of theyr kynne, powerer or richer, ffor ther is no man so nedy, so vyle, ne so lytil sette by, but whan he is brought in to this world he is endowed with as good courage as the sone of an Emperour or kynge, and as apt to vertue and manhode, and peraduenture in this cause I shal not nede to gyue many examples. What shal I saye of them that haue ben born of symple and lowe kynne, whiche haue growen to grete worship? Of whom ther cometh so grete plente to my mynde that this daye is to short for me to reherce the lesse parte of theym. Neuirtheles, I shal reherce a fewe, begynnnyng at Tullius Ostilius, whiche was born in a ful symple cotage, and had fader and moder so poure and wretchid that ful fewe ther were that knewe theyr names. And the said ^{fo. 38.} Tullius was an herde and kept beestes, and grewe so in wisedom and vertue that atte laste he occupyed the grettest auctorite and dignyte in this cyte. And how he enlarged the same cyte, and subdewed the veyentys & the fydenatys oure grettest ennemyes, and brought theym to oure obeyssaunce, It is open to you alle.

fo. 38v.

Also Seruius Tullius, born of a bonde stocke, atteygned the highest gouernaunce of this cyte, and byhaued hym self so nobly therin that he made the sabynes youre subgettes, and thryes he receyued his tryumph; fferthermore he ioyned to this cyte thre hylles. Also Marcus porcius Cato was born in suche another Cote, a full lytil hows lyke as was Tullius hostilius. And he was in this cyte of so grete dygnyte and auctorite that he passed alle other in his dayes; he was right noble and necessary to our comynte, he was in his tyme a worthy knyght, and a veray good clerke; & he was had in gretc reuercence of the cytezeyns, that by his wisedom he encreased the nombre of the Senatours, and embelysshed the mageste of the Senate with his presence. Euery man knoweth also how Marius was born in the wylde felde, for his fader & moder were so poure, & so abiect a stok, that they had no hows of theyr owne, & yet in right grete vertue & excellent manhode he flowred; all ye knowe wel how he was fyrist in the bataylle agaynst Jugurtha vndernethis mayster Methelius, which was that tyme questour of Rome, whome the said Marius succeeded in his office of Consul. And he byhaued hym so wel in the said bataylle, that he put to flyght the said Jugurtha, and Bokkus, kyng of Maurytanus, whiche cam that tyme with grete multitude of people to socoure and enforce Jugurtha. And whan he had put hym to flyght, he wan many castellys and fortresses, and atte laste toke the said Jugurtha and brought hym afore his chare to rome, and there receyued his tryumph with right grete glorye. Aftir that, whan the peple whiche were called Symbryanes had wonne the felde of the Romaynes, whiche made alle the cyte to tremble and quake for feare, in lyke wise as they dyde in tyme of Hanybal, Thenne Marius was chosen to be the Capetayn of the felde made agayn the sayd Symbryanes, where he had the victorye and delyuerd the cyte fro feere and peryll; and therfor he receyued his seconde tryumph. Socrates also, which was the veray myrrour of the wisedom of man, whos doctryne hath enlumyned alle the scoles of the philosophers, whiche was also the wysest and cunnyngest of all mortal men as grete Apollo bereth witnesse, he had to his Moder a mydwif, and to his fader a Marbyler. Eurypydes also, whiche excellyd in his tyme

alle other in wrytyng of Tragedyes, and Demostene the moost eloquente Oratour of the grekes were born of ryght poure and symple stocke. And who is he that wolde or dar call theym vnnoble? It muste nedes be graunted that eyther ther is no noblesse emong mortal men, ellys yf ther be ony it resteth in suche persones as wysedom, force, manhode, forsyght, and veray vertue make theym to flowre aboue alle other, and gyue to theym fame lyke to goddes Inmortall. And, Cornely, thou knowest wel thy self, how vnylike thou art vnto thyn Auncestres fo. 39. in euery thyng concernynge worship and exercises of manhode, whiche proueth wel the contrarye of that whiche thou hast said, that noblesse is not knytte to blood, but to veray vertu that is ioyned to the courage; ffor they tofore rememdrid shold neuir ellys be callyd noble whiche haue ben of symple and lowe byrthe. And many that haue comen of worshipful auncstryss that deserued by theyr demerytes not only to lose theyr name of noblesse, but ouer that to be callyd shameful and abhomynable creatures; and som I shal reherce of thy kynne. And first I wil begynne at the sone of Scipio Affrycan, whiche derked and defaced the vygorous and vertuous fame of his fader, and that not a lytil, with his cowardyse and folye, ffor whan he was destressed and take with grete shame by the kyng of Anthioche, and knelyd byfore hym, he wepyng lyke a childe helde vp his hondes and besought the said kyng to graunte hym his lyf. The said Scipio also, whan that he (not by his merytes, but by the laboure of Cisero, whiche was his faders scrybe) had gotten thoffyce named emonge vs Pretore, his frendes and kynnesmen were so glad therof that they sayd they herde nothyng of longe tyme byfore wherof they were more heuy. And they vnderstandyng his cowardyse and foly, for fere leste he sholde haue blemysshed the worship publyque of this cyte, or the worthy fame of his Inmedyat progenytours, ordeyned so emong them, that he was neuir suffred to sytte in his place annexed to his offyce, ne to gyue ony jugement in ony cause. Also Publius of fo. 39. the same stocke whan he was named Consull and sente forth ageynst Jugurtha that had slayn Hatherbal and yempsal the sones of kyng Mysipha, whiche were euir frendely and welewyllers to the Romaynes. And therfore the said Publius was

commaunded to take vengeance of theyr dedes ; he ledde his hoost so rechelesly that oure people were neuir more wretchedly and peryllously conduytcd. And at laste he was corrupt with good whiche he receyued of Jugurtha, and therfor he made with hym an ouer shameful peas, whiche was aftir refused and vtterly despised of the Senate, and hym self therfore discharged of his office, to his grettest rebuke & shame : where may ony thynge more vnworshipful, I shold saye more shameful, be tolde or reherced of ony man ? And what shal I saye of the moost graceles yong man named Lucius Fabius Maximus sone of Allobrogus ? His faders worship halpe hym not, whan he was knownen of so vicious and wretched lyf, but Quintus Pompeus that tyme pretor of this cyte bannysshed hym perpetuall out of rome. What shal I saye ferthermore of the neucwe of Quintus Ortencius, the which was a man in this cyte of grete auctorite, and atte laste by euyl company was ledde so that he foored not openly to goo to the stewes, and in syght of alle men, to haue a doo with comyn wymmen ? How supposest thy self, Corneli, shold we deme theym that we haue reherced noble, whan theyr lyf so moche wretched and full of foly quenchid the bryghtnesse of theyr noblesse ? What yf they wold preche of the noble dedes and actes of theyr Auncestres ? Or what yf they wold shewe grauen or paynted ymagcs of theym in tharchys tryumphal, or sacred places ? Trowest thou thy self, whyle they were so vicious, that ony wiseman wold for all that they coude shewe or remember eyther preyse theym or set by theym ? Thenne it shold seme better for theyr owne pleasyre & worship to kepe scilence, than to speke ony thynge of theyr progenytours, ffor there is no man but he wolde thynke hem the more to blame, that whan they had so worshipful an example sette byfore theyr eyen, they forsoke shamefully and wretchedly to folowe it ; & me semeth though theyr faders had don neuir so moche for the weal publyque of this Cyte, it shold in no wyse be dettours to theyr childeeren, Whiche ben of reuerse condicions, ffor lyke wise as theyr faders dyde embellysshe alle this cyte, so they spotten and defowlen the same. Theyr faders sette oure cyte in honoure and surete, and they euery day put it in peryll and nonsurete ; theyr faders by theyr vertue and force delyuerd

oure cyte, that whan it stode in grete Jeopardye and perylle, and whan it was in grettest reste & peas, they haue sette it in grete trouble and disordynaunce. And what shold suche men mowe clayme by theyr meryte or deserte in oure cyte, whan it had be good for the same neuer to haue seen theym, & to their faders neuir to haue begoten theym? namely, whan theyr said faders preferred oure weal publyque theyr lyues. It is not thenne to doubte that yf theyr faders were on lyue and certaynly aduertised of their vyces, they wold juge theym acordyng to theyr demerytes to grete turmentys, deth, or perpetuel exyle. Ffor many lyke yong men of semblable maners haue ben by their forfaders condempned by jugement, as brutus, ffor whan fo. 40^r. he had vnderstonde that his sonnes conspired agayn oure weal publyque, he made theym fyrst to be bete with roddes, & afterward to be byheded. Also, Cassius made his sone whiche rebelled ageynst thempyre of Rome to be taken, and forthwith sent hym sore scorgyd to the Senate, there by jugement to receyue his deth. Lyke wyse Maulyus torquatus, one of the moost noble Cytezeyns that we haue had, whan his sone was empleted of dette, toke vpon hym theexamynacion of the mater, and whan he vnderstode his sone truly accused, he yaf his sentence in this wyse: Syth it is so, that my sone hath robbed this cyte of so moch moneye, and blotted gretely the fame of me and all his kynnesmen, by the brekyng of his fayth and promyse, I juge hym vnworthy to entre his faders hows, or to receyue ony benefayte of oure estate publyque, or to come in the company of ony worshipful Cytezeyn. Whiche proueth sufficienly that they which ben not lyke theyr faders in vertue shold not be lyke to theym in ony reward gyuen by oure estate publyque, ffor lyke wise as in a derke glasse or myrrour a fygure doth vnnethe appere, so in the childrene that be vicious the vertue of the fader maye vnnethe be seen. Therfore, Cornely, thou hast a ful veyne supposyng, whan thou trowest that the glorye and noblesse of the faders must be lefte to the childeren as a thynge of enherytaunce. And all this booste that thou makest of thy kynne, it sowneth moche rather to theyr lawde and worship than thyn. And though Childeren haue blood and fo. 41. alle thappertenautes perteynyng to the bodye of theyr faders,

yet the veray noblesse whiche resteth in the spiryte and courage
 maye not be had withoute a mannes owen laboure and deserfe.
 And where as thou sayst that lettred persones calle theym
 properly gentylmen whiche ben descended of noble kynne,
 fforsothe I holde wel with that, so they be lyke in suche vertues
 as haue caused theyr forfaders to be called noble. And as for thy
 self, yf thou chalenge it by that title, amende thy maners or
 gyue ouer thy cause. But I trowe better that persones wel
 lettred wil rather note them which ben them self cowardes, and
 haue more manly for faders, with degeneracion than noblesse,
 syth that they be soo different in maners fro theyr kynne. It
 is dayly thynge of experyence, that many a worshipful man hath
 ful vnworshipful Childeren, and many a wyse man hath had
 fonnyssh Chylderen, and many a vertuous man chylderen
 vicyous. And there thou leyest the vulgar oppynyon for thyn
 auctor. I holde it ful easy to dysaproue, syth it is so chaungeable
 and full of errors, and it is veray certayn that the said oppynyon
 acordeth ful seedl with wisedome. But now late vs descende to
 that pouerte, that they whiche be noble or gentilmen haue
 diuerse tymes fallen in. Where was ther oughwhere a pouer
 than Marchus Agrippa, whiche was passyngly excellent and
 necessarye to oure thynge publyque, whiche was in that caas
 that whan that euery man that was taxed at a certayn [rate],
 there was nothynge founde of his patrymony whiche myght
 relyeue or augmente oure comyn tresour? Was not oure
 commonte fayn for as moche as Valerius Publicola, that had
 quyt hym so notably oft and many tymes for oure estate
 publyque, dyeng in suche pouerte that he lefte not wher with
 he myght be enteered, but to burye hym on theyr owen coste
 and charge? And how the people of this cyte called Lucius
 Cyncinates fro the tilthe and sowyng of his londe to the hyest
 Empyre. It is easy to remembre how the said Lucius proued
 hym self of suche vertue and courage. Thenne whan the Pales-
 tynes had biseged this cyte, he brake not only the seage, and
 chaced theym to the flood named Alba, but ouer that, he wan
 and subdued ech grete cytees, whiche were the chief helpers
 and courageours of theym in theyr warres: and alle this
 victorye he achieued & parfyted in twenty dayes. And how

glorious was the pouert of Actilius Seramus, whom whan the Senate had callyd from his plough to thoffyce of consul, he acquyted hym with so grete vigoure, that he destressed theyr enemyes & sette theym in surete. But yet that not withstondynge, the dygnyte of thoffice, whiche bare the playsyrs of this cyte, ne the rychesse or worship which he gate in our werres, coude not lette hym but that he wolde retourne to his fyrrt labour. And theym which were so worshipful in marcial discipline, & so vertuous in lyuyng, shal we call vnnoble or wretched? Is ther ony man so destitute of reason that wil call theym but most noble which haue conserued our weel publique alwey in noblesse? Me semeth this example suffycient to proue fo. 42. that noblesse may be ioyned with pouerte, and pouerte with noblesse. Ne lete no man trowe but that a poure man which hath worshipful maners and vertuous deades shold mowe wel be called noble, and namely these which I haue reherced, that acquyted theym so manly and assuredly for theyr estate publicque, frendes, and kynne, whan they had grettest nede of conforte & socoure Were not thies folkes lyberall, and worthy to be praysed in the hyghest degree of lyberalyte, whan they left alle theyr owen playsyr and prouffyttes to doo theyr seruyse for the comyne Weale? I trowe it was a gretter lyberalyte to gyue to theyr cyte the fredom whiche was taken fro it, and delyuerd theyr kynnesmen and frendes from all peryll, wronge, and Jeobardye, than yf they had departed al theyr hole patrimonye to theyr cyte, kynnesmen, & frendes. And who so enir payneth hym, be it in thynges publicque or pryuate, to be called lyberall, so moche the more he is proued every day more lyberal, whan he vseth his dylygence and deuoyr to promote his cyte, kynne, or frendes. Thenne, Cornely, the lyberalyte of a worshipful poure man may be right grete, & suche that pouerte may not dispoylle the vertue of noblesse. Honest pouerte maye take away no parte of vertue. Was it not the fayrest gyte and rychest lyberalyte of nature to gyue euery man power & abylyte to be vertuous? And therfor she hath sette it in the inwardre places of the spiryte, and not in the foolhardynesse of fortune. And there is no happe so hardy and so comberous that maye take ve[r]tue from hym whiche is wel

fo. 42v. wylled to kepe it, ne there is no happe so merueylous or plesaunt that may bryng worship to hym that is a recheles man or a coward. Fforsythe it is, yf fortune had soueraynte aboue vertue, within a whyle there shold be no vertue or ony meryte of vertue, ffor the choyse of thynges to be worshipfully parfyted shold moche rather reste in fortune than in the disposicions of our fre wylles. And therfor, Cornely, seace of that oppynyon, That is to saye to trowe that vertue, lyberalyte, and noblesse, shold haue theyr fyrst cours or begynnyng in thaboundaunce of Rychesse, ffor thenne it shold folowe that how worshipful a persone were, whan so euir he faylled rychesse, his name of worship sholde seace. And the contraryc is trewe, ffor that whiche is veray worship or noblesse, is neyther subgett to fortune or happe. And tho men whiche I haue reherced afore, theyr pouerte attended, shold neuir have ascended so hyghe in honoure, ne haue meryted suche fame of worship as they dyde. And therfor ye faders conscript, yf worshipful progenytours haue had chylderen worshipful, and yf pour progenytours haue had worshipful childeren, and yf merueylous and grete vertue haue rested in suche as haue be right poure, the sequele is to youre wysedomes manyfeste, whiche is this: that noblesse resteth neyther in rychesse ne in blood, but in a free and noble courage, whiche is neyther seruaunt to vyce ne vnclennesse, but is excercised in connyng and vertu. And he that is endued with suche a courage deserueth best to be called noble, worshipful, & excellent; therfore in this contrauersy of noblesse hauyng bytwene me and my felowe, me seimeth he shold beste deserue the palme of victory that may proue hym self most vertuous & worshipful. Ffaders conscript, I haue leuer in that byhalue to haue one other to speke for me than to speke my self, leest I speke ony thyng sownyng vnto my owne lawde, and be boosted with the vyce of boost. Neuirtheles it is to me inly ioyous whan I beholde youre moost ryght wyse courages and moost benygne humanytees. Ffor I wote wel I shal mowe saye no thyng in praynsyng of my self untruly, but that ye wil vnderstande it wel ynough. And this that I shal saye of my self truly shal not mowe hurte me in your conceytes. I truste ye knowe the lyf and the maners of vs bothe wel ynough; how be it I

fo. 43v.

shal remembre your wysedomes and acustommed benygnytees, what my lyf hath ben syth my fyrist yeres. Fforsothe, whan I was right yonge, I was sette to scole, and whan I waxed more rype of yeres, I toke grete pleasyr to spende my tyme in the studye of philosophye; and me semeth I coude not haue spende it bettir ne more worshipfully. And to my maistres I had theym that vnderstode both greke and latyn, & certayn yeres I abode in athenes to here the grekes, the prynces of eloquence and phylosophye. And how gretely I profyted there, I reporte me to the iugement of theym whiche be parfyght in that tongue, yet I may saye thus moche of my self, that there was no day whiche passed me ydle, ne no nyght without studye and lernyng of somwhat. The whiche hye desyre to haue knowlege of connynge was graunted to me, I deme, of nature; ffor me semed my mynde was neuer appeased but whan it had knowleche of ^{fo. 43'} some thynge that I knewe not a fore, and of the veray trouthe of thynges. I had plente of maisters and techers, and many lerners with me, and emonge the wisedome of so many, there myght no man be lefte an ydeote. I was so vsed in my yongthe to the doctryne of vertue, that ther is left no place in my courage of vicious desyres, ffor in good feyth vyses be to me as noyous, displesaunt, and greuous as they may be. And vertues as plesaunt, ioyous, and acceptable as they may be. But aftir that whan I remembred me how euery man whiche hath vertue or connynge is bounde to serue therwith the estate publyque, I gaue my sylf hoolly & fully to the weal publyque of this cyte. And whan I had doo so, I neuir stynted to thynke vpon the weale and thincreace of the same, dredyng therfore no peryll or laboure. I neuir spared my self in that whiche shold cause it to floure in worship and surete, ffor fewe yeres passed whan our sees were occupied and encombred with pirates, and Gayus Flammineus Publius, a man of grete worship, had take vpon hym the charge of your nauye and shyppes, and had delyuered to my gouernaunce ten shippis of forstage for to fyght ageyn one of the rouers called Horantes, It fortuned me to mete with hym, and to borde the same shippe in whiche he was hym self, and how be it he resysted manly and with grete force, trustyng vpon the multitude of his shippes and peple, I ouercam hym & brought hym & alle

fo. 44.

his nauye to my capytayne. Also in the batayll agayn Metridates I was a knyght, & in the seruise of the same Emperour; and how ofte I had for my guerdons, the rounde crowne accustomed to be yeuen to that knyght which auaunced hym self moost ferforthly and manly in the bataylle, I reporte me to myn Emperour and felawship. And where is that worship that may be gotten in thoffyce or dygnyte of Consul by the merytes of knyghtly discipline that I haue not had? And I truse to oure goddes that I haue acquyted me in the yeres of my force and lustynesse, that in myn age I shal not be reckened emong them whiche haue doo nothyng for oure weal publyque. How wel that I am be frended, ye my beste byloued frendes whiche be here now present can bere sufficient wytnesse, and whether I haue be redy in euery place to assethe youre lyefful desyres, as wel in thynges publyque as thynges pryuate. Ffor I trowe I was neuer straunge to doo for you that laye in my power, and of what fayth, pyte, and loue I haue ben to you, ye alle knowe wel. Grete grace and fortune I haue receyued of our goddes to haue so grete benyuolence and frendelyhed of alle folkes, ffor ther is no man in this cyte, ne in all the world, hath cause to hate me, yf he be not an enemye to our comyn weal. Neuirtheles, the some of all my labours hath restyd in this, to be a curyous sercher for our weal publyque, mery at home, laboryous outward, besy to atteyne scyence, pyteous of them whiche had necessyte, namely to my fader, moder, & kynne, welbyloued of my neyghbours, true to my frendes, obeysaunt & deuoute in thynges relygious. By the which meanes I haue juged my self to atteyne beste noblesse, and I haue trowed by thies vertues to pollysshe my courage and to make it more worshipful. Cornely thenne thyn[ke], what be thy condicions, or what is thy dispositions? Where dydest thou ony thyng in thy dayes that thou canste reherce?, where by thou woldest clayme or chalenge worship or noblesse? Where euyr receyued oure cyte ony benefete by the, or ony thyng of lawde, where by it myght vnderstonde that thou were born in this world? ffor thou lyuest emong vs here more lyke a dede man than a quyck. Where is there euir ony man that hath be holpen or releuyd by the? where hast thou vsed the noblesse and lyberalyte that thou spekyst

fo. 44v.

of: Peraduenture thou hast be prodygal vnto wantone & vnshamefaste creatures, and there by thou hast wasted thy hows, thyne apparayle, and alle thy goodes. Thou trowest thy self thou art passyng worshipful whan thou hast alle thy loues abouthe the, Japynge, Ragynge, and wrastlynge with theym in thy dronkenhede. And thenne to preche of the noble dedes of thyn olders! I wil not saye naye, but confesse that thyne Auncestres haue be of souerayn auctorite and worship in this cyte. And thou, unwyseman, to thy grete shame, whan thou remembrest thyne owne slouthe and symplenesse, ther may be nothyng be more detestable or vnthrifly than this is; ffor where thou haddest thyne Auncestres shynyng in worship lyke bryght phebus, shewyng to the by theyr clerenesse the streyght hye waye to the same, to lede so derke and so blynde a lyf as thou doost, ffor they gaf to the a ful worshipful example in many and dyuerse wyses, how thou sholdest mowe deserue the grete lawde and thanke of thestate publyque. And by theyr bryght- fo. 45 nesse they shewed to the the veray path to noblesse, as yf they shold saye: this waye we haue holde, and it is easy ynough vnto the for to folowe vs. And thou hast forsaken the bryght path whiche ledeth to worship, and hast wilfully drowned thy self in the derke pytte of foryetefulnesse. Trowest thou to flowre in oure cyte by the merytes, whan thy self hast so defowled the same wyth thy vyses? And trowest thou to atteyne worship by theyr benefayttes whan thou dost nothyng wel to our cyte? Supposest thou, with thy sleep, reste, ydelnesse, wyne, mangerye, lustys, and vnshamefastnes, to gete that worshipful fame that whiche they gate by theyr laborous watches, contynencyes, hunger, thurst, hete, colde, and so many other dyuerse happenes? Thou doste erre ful hugely, ffor it must nedes be, yf thou wylt haue suche title of fame as they had, that thou make thy self suche in condycions and maners as they were. Virtue is not a thyng of enherytaunce: and therfor essaye whether thou mayst fynde suche reason and wyesdom as they vsed, ffor in theyr bequeste thou shalt not fynde that they bequethed to the their vertue. Thou sayst that there was nothyng to theym in theyr laste dayes more pleasaunt than to vnderstande the to haue receyued worship and reuerence of thestates of this cyte.

And forsoth I trowe, yf they myght come fro the places in which they ben, ther shold be nothyng more greuous, more displaysaunt, and loother to theyr glorious spirytes, than to vnderstonde that our cyte hath so long suffred paciently thyne errors

fo. 45^v.

and vyses vnpunysshed. And I dar saye, yf they were a lyue, they wolde be the first that shold punyssh the, eyther with deth or with exile. O good god, art not thou ashamed to saye that thou wére norysshed and brought vp with theym? Whan thy self dost lyue so fowle and shamefully, that thou semest rather to haue be norysshed and drawnen in the open houses of mysgouerned wymmen. And thou affirmest that thou doost represente theyr ymages and lykenesse, and yet knowest wel ynough that thy cowardyse excedeth theyr worship. And I wolde wyte of the how an ymage may wel be seen in a myrrour that is all for rusted. And thou dost suppovraylle thy noblesse with thy stately byldynges, fayr places, riche vyllages, and plesaunt feeldes, and desprysest my meane suffysaunce in byldyng, lyuelode and honest pouerte. But thou vnderstondest ful lytil how gretely that Rychesse that thou hast is to thy shame, and that whiche I haue is to my worship, ffor me semeth it is gretter worship in lytil lyuelode to lyue worshypfully, than in so grete haboundaunce to lyue prodygally, inordenatly, and shamefully. Peraduenture I haue had as moche worship of knyghtly lawde in this Cyte as I coude desyre or coueyte, and I lyue so aftir my lyuelode that I trusste to continue my lyf withoute lacke of that whiche shal suffyse me, and for the cause I desyre no more than that suffyseth, I holde me wel content with that I haue; and it is ynough to me to haue that I desyre, and to coueyte that whiche is resonable; who so euir coueyteth more, excedeth the boundes of reason. What coude we desyre more, whyle we lyue here, than to lyue worshipfully? No doubte therof who someuir heepeth vp rychesse, trustyng therby to satisfye all his desyres, is but vaynly occupied, ffor vertue & mesure ought to suffyse in euery thyng. And noble courage can ascende to worship with lytil helpe of rychesse, but a wretchyd courage can neuir ascende to worship, though it be holpen with neuir so grete plente of rychesse.

fo. 46.

Lete no man fere to vse vertue whan he lacketh good; it is no

payne to hym that is wel willed to doo some thyng wel, and he that is not noble maye accuse none but hym self. We complayne ofte causeless vpon fortune, and therfore Cornely stynte of thy booste of rychesse, whiche sheweth moche rather thy cowardyse than manhode, and seace to sette noblesse in the goodes of fortune, whiche be but lente to vs, and yet they ben flytting and vnstable. Noblesse shold be knytte to vertue, & vertue with noblesse, and ye maye, lady Lucresse, which excell all other of this age in wysedom and beaute, knowe wel what veray noblesse is, and by your grete wysedom ye haue atteyned to the same. And I wote wel the vulgar playes, the wantone array of wymmen, the ryche owches sette with precious stones, the clothes of gold, the dayly dawsyng & syngynge, be not the thynges that please you moost, ffor ye knowe all thies thynges ben but subgettis and seruauntes to vicious and dishonest thynges; ffor ye haue gyuen youre lyf to phylosophye, lyberall studyes, continence, laboure, shamefastnesse, watches, and vertuous besynesse. And in thiese, ye excelle alle other of youre yeres in this cyte, and these ben the thynges that I loue you in especial fore, & for the which I shal Payne me to please you & fo. serue you, & ther be nothynges which maye better be coupled, than suche as ben lyke in the noble desyres of vertue and good will, and lyke maners and disposicion of lyuyng. And ther is nothyng more greuous and disacordyng to loue, than whan one desireth vertue, & another desyreth vycy. Therfore, whyle I haue some conuenyence with youre maner of lyuyng in vertue, and Cornelius in all wyse difference, it must nedes shewe that ye loue not hym, but loue me. Ffor what pleasyr shold ye haue to lyue with hym? Whan ye are disposed to the vertuouse besynesse of studye, and he is the gretest enemye that science hath. And whan ye wolde feyne attende thereto, he in his dronkenesse, with his stomblyng, yoxing¹ and pratyng shold lette you; ye wold be glad to see your hous floure in shamefastnes and honeste, he wold be glad on that other syde to see it seruaunt to fleschely luste and ryote. Ye wold be glad to speke with sad and connynge persones, and demaunde they mof the merueyllous

¹ Yexing = hiccupping.

fo. 47.

causes of thynges, of the mocuynge of the planetes, and the discylyne of maners, and he emonge his compayne of wymmen abiecte wolde booste of ryote, vnclenesse, and folyc. And howe maye ther be reste or acorde bytwene tho courages, whiche be so gretely dyfferen? But my lady Lucresse, yf it please you, I shal bryng you to my poure lodgynge, where ye shal fynde quyete reste. And how be it that yf it be not so superfluously be seen as Cornelius is, yet I truste ye shal fynde it bettir fur-
 nysshed of vertue, maner, and such pleasyrs, as youre moost womanly courage delyteth in. And fyrst I shal shewe you my lyberary, wel stuffed with fayr bookees of Greke and latyn, wher vnto in euery aduersyte is my chief resorte for counseyl and conforte. And ther shal we dyuerse tymes haue commynycacyon and conforte of the connyngc and doctryne of my lady and maystresse phylosophye; and there I shal repte to you the mcrueyllous doctryne of the philosophers of Athenes, whiche I haue herd and enioye me gretly whan I remembre it. No besynes of famylyar thynges shal agayn your wyll departe you fro suche plesaunt ydelnes, ffor I truste to oure goddes that my lytil feelde, of the which I am cnbrayded by Cornelius, shal suffise for our dayly lyuelode. Neuirthcles one thyng I haue in auauntage that he hath not, ffor though my lytil feeld were take away fro me my connyngc and lectrure by whiche I shold nowe atteyne to gretter possessions than that, duryng my lyf can not be taken from me. As touchyng to you, madame, It shal be in your free choyse, whether ye wil be ydle or studye. And yf it please you to studye, ther shal be none so hardy to breke your plesaunt thoughtes in that byhalue, ne ther shal no chaterynge or Janglynge of vnchast wymmen lette your studye or cause you to fere of the stable loue of your true seruaunt. And the cause of oure maryage shal with Joyous loue right sone be had to your playsyr, I truste to our goddes no doubte of. Thordre of matrymony is as it were a dyuyne relygion ffor the conseruacion of mankynde, to the whiche yf it shal please you tentende in suche wyse as I haue said, I truste ye shal thynke your self euir here aftir duryngc youre lyf more and more fortunat, ffor what maye be more blesyd in this temporal lyf for you, than to passe your age in tranquyll Joyousnesse, vertue

fo. 47v.

and noble fame. And what is more vertuous than to occupye youre mynde in good & vertuous thoughts, and what more ioyous than to take hym for your perpetuel seruaunt that soueraynly delyteth in that which ye chyefly desyre? Therfore, ye faders conscript, in whos grete wysedomes resteth the Jugement and conclusion of this contrauercye, weye ye in your brestys what I haue said, and publysshe ye rypely and soone, youre sentence touchyng this contencion. We stryue for noblesse, and whiche of vs two shold be reputed more noble; and in that byhalue our lyf, our fortune, our studye, and maners, how be it they were wel knownen to youre noble aduertences, yet now they be in bryef remembred. Neuirtheles, thyssue of this contrauercye is this: This day honeste stryuueth with vnshamefastnes, contynence with luste, Magnanymyte with Cowardyse, lectrure with Inscience, and vertue with neglygence. And whether of thise partyes is the better, I leue it to your dome and sentence.

Thus endeth thoracion of Gayus Flammyneus.

APPENDIX II

SHORT LIST OF TIPTOFT'S WORKS

Translations from Latin:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| Cicero <i>De Amicitia</i> . | Printed by Caxton in 1481. |
| Buonaccorso <i>De Vera Nobilitate</i> . | Do. |

Ordinances:

- (i) For Joustes and Triumphes. Harington, *Nugae Antiquae*, i. 1; Meyrick, *Antient Armour*.
- (ii) For Placing the Nobility. Cotton MS. Tib. E. viii; Ashmole MS. 763.
- (iii) Various ordinances. *Excerpta Historica, Privy Council Proceedings*, vi.

Letters:

- (i) To Oxford University (1, in Latin). MS. C.C.C. (Cambridge), 423.¹
- (ii) To Henry Cranebroke (2, one Latin, one English). (B.M.) MS. Roy. 10 B. ix.

Lost Works:

- Orations. (i) To the people of Padua.
(ii) To the Pope and Cardinals.

Letters. Four letters formerly at Lincoln.

Supposed Works:

Cronica Regum Angliae, Phillipps MS. 11301.

Tully of Old Age, Caxton 1481

Cesar's Commentaryes, Rastell 1530.

Petition against the Lollards. [Lost.]

¹ Perhaps written by a secretary.

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